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A COLLECTION OF LETTERS

Written by His EXCELLENCY

General *George Monk*,

Afterwards Duke of *Albermarle*,

Relating to the

Reſtoration of the Royal Family.

WITH

An INTRODUCTION, proving by inconteſtable Evidence, that MONK had projected that *Reſtoration* in SCOTLAND; againſt the Cavils of thoſe who wou'd rob him of the Merit of this Action.

——*Fidens animi, atque in utrumque paratus,*
Seu verſare Dolos, ſeu certa occumbere Morti.
Virg. Æn. l. 2.

LONDON:
Sold by J. ROBERTS near the *Oxford Arms* in *Warwick-lane.* 1714.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE *Memory of General* GEORGE MONK, *which can never die, has been lately refresh'd in a certain Book, entitul'd,* THE ART OF RESTORING, *in which there occur several curious Particulars concerning him, and to which I might add many others, both entertaining and instructive; but that I understand a Gentleman, sufficiently furnish'd with Materials, is now actually writing this Noble General's* Life: *A Life as full of Action and Variety as any, if we duly consider the several Scenes of the same; and not as too many of our supine or superficial Readers are wont to do, only view him in that single Action of the* Restoration, *and even there in a false Light. But lest I shou'd be misinform'd as to the writing of his Life, I think it not amiss here to relate, that he was the second Son of Sir* Thomas Monk *of* Potheridge *in* Devonshire: *a very antient Family, and well ally'd. At sixteen Years of Age he betook himself by pure accident to the Profession of a Soldier, making his first Campagne under Sir* Richard Greenvill, *an experienc'd Officer, in the unsuccessful Expedition of* Cadiz, anno 1625: *and next carrying Colours,* anno 1627, *under that Brave Officer Sir* John Burroughs, *in the yet more unfortunate Expedition of* Rochel *and the Isle of* Rhée. *Looking for better Encouragement in the* Netherlands, *at that time (no less than of late) the Nursery or rather the School of*

War for all Europe, he serv'd successively there in the Regiments of the Lord Vere and the Lord Goreing, signalizing his Courage in divers memorable Actions. Upon a Difference between him and the Magistrates of Dort, where he had his Winter Quarters, and brookt it ill that his Soldiers shou'd be punishable by the Civil Power, he came back into England a little before the first Scots Expedition, in which, as well as in the second, he was imploy'd. In the Year 1640 he went Commander of the Earl of Leicester's Regiment into Ireland, and in short time was made Governor of Dublin; remov'd from which Post, he was surpriz'd by the Lord Fairfax with others of the King's Forces at Nantwich, sent Prisoner to Hull, and thence to the Tower of London. There he lay several Years, till at length he was prevail'd upon to enter into the Parliament's Service; upon which he took the Covenant, and went a second time into Ireland Colonel of a Regiment under the Lord Lisle, the Deputy. With this Lord he returns to England, and is sent into Ireland a third time, Commander in chief of the Parliament Forces in the North of that Kingdom, where he perform'd such gallant Exploits, as will adorn his Life, tho the Cessation of Arms he agreed with Owen Roe O Neal, will as much sully it. He did afterwards accompany Cromwell into Scotland, contributing no small Share to the Conquest of that till then unconquer'd Kingdom; and was left Commander in chief there, when Oliver follow'd the King to Worcester. In the Year 1653 he did acceptable Service in the Dutch War, when with Dean and Blake he was in the joint Commission of General and Admiral. He was then a second time sent Commander in chief into Scotland, which Post he maintain'd with no less Discipline than Repute, all the time to the Restoration in 1660. So

that we may eaſily imagine, he was not a bare Spectator in ſo many Rencounters, in ſuch eminent Poſts, and in ſuch various Situations of Affairs; but that his Life is a Theme highly deſerving the Pains of the ableſt Hand, a Series of ſuch brave Enterprizes and ſurprizing Revolutions, as cannot fail entertaining the Readers of every Party. The worſt of Tyrants or Traitors ought to have Juſtice done to their good as well as to their bad Qualities. Leaving therefore the Recital of theſe things to the Writer of his Life, I am of Opinion the Curious will owe me likewiſe ſome Obligation in my turn, for laying before them entire all thoſe LETTERS, and a great many more, that are quoted in the ſaid ART OF RESTORING, they containing ſeveral moſt remarkable Occurrences, beſides what the Author of this Book had occaſion to mention. I will not make my ſelf a Party for or againſt the Parallel he has thought fit to draw between the General and Sir Roger, the doughty Head and Darling of the Jacobite Faction: but finding that many, who otherwiſe like this Parallel very well, think Monk did not form his Deſign ſo early as our Writer wou'd have him, and that conſequently he had not a Right to claim ſo great a Merit in the Reſtoration, I cannot be wholly ſilent on this Head. The Author himſelf was aware of this Objection, which he ſays a World of People have made from the beginning. Among others he cites my Lord Clarendon with too good reaſon. But that this Lord attributes ſo little to the General, will be no wonder to thoſe who have conſider'd how little he aſcribes to the Conduct, Valour, or Honeſty of any one Perſon engag'd in Charles the Second's Intereſt, either at home or abroad, either before or at the time of the Reſtoration, excepting only the Chancellor of the Exchequer (his own dear ſelf) and one or two others, who

have the luck to partake of his good Graces; and yet, without the Chancellor of the Exchequer, *whom you meet at every turn, even theſe will be found to be perfect Bunglers. But, without troubling my ſelf or others at this time, with what Alterations the Book may have probably undergone before the Printing of it, I am apt to believe, that whenever any one undertakes to make the* Critique *of it (ſuch as it is now given us) whether he conſiders the Stile or the Method, whether he examines it under the Notion of a Hiſtory or a Commentary, he will not find it by a thouſandth part ſo accurate, ſo impartial, or ſo eloquent, as ſome have moſt induſtriouſly repreſented it: much leſs will he diſcover in it any of thoſe inimitable Graces and Charms, of which unletter'd Bigots or intereſted Flatterers, have ſo vainly boaſted to the World. However, my Lord* Clarendon, *as is ſaid above, was not the only Perſon that wou'd rob the* General *of his early Merit in the* Reſtoration. *I ſhall name one or two of 'em.* Sir Philip Warwick *does ample Juſtice to his Courage and Experience, to his deep Thought and ſolid Judgment, and above all to his Secreſy, which together with Reſolution, are the Life and Soul of great Actions.* Hence he carry'd it all ſo cloſely, *ſays he,* that I believe no Man to this day can poſitively ſay, that he deſign'd any more than a general Quiet of the Land; and ſo he fram'd his Deſigns ſuitable to the Opportunities that were given him. But that he wiſh'd, that this might be procur'd by the means of his Majeſty's moſt happy Return, no Man can rationally doubt. *Now that the* General *not only wiſh'd this, but early deſign'd it in* Scotland, *I do not only poſitively ſay, but by and by will irrefragably prove.* Sir Philip *afterwards at much pains to ſhow, from all the Particulars of that ſtupendous Tranſaction, that no one Man almoſt could be ſaid to have thought of it: but*

that, all Men growing weary of so many giddy Changes in the Government, they became disposed of course to resettle themselves upon the very same Foundation they had so totally overthrown. General Monk, *adds he,* may well have assign'd to him the rest: for tho he mov'd perchance as a natural Instrument at first, and discern'd not what wou'd be the End; yet surely at last he was a voluntary and moral Instrument in God's Hand, and by a loyal Heart, prudent Head, and stout Hand, design'd and effected what was so happily brought about. *You see here that Sir* Philip, *who is not to be blam'd since he knew no better, does with my Lord* Clarendon *ascribe Monk's Part of the Restoration to divers unforeseen Accidents, that imperceptibly led and oblig'd him to it, as the only good thing he had left in his Power to do. The Collector of* The Complete History of *England in three Volumes, who is suppos'd to be the principal Author of all the Lives in the last Volume, owns in so many Words, that* it is hard to know, how and when this great Man was brought over to the King's Interest: *since, after the Death of* Cromwell, *he own'd* Richard, *and declar'd with all his Officers for a* COMMONWEALTH. *Yet 'tis acknowledg'd by the Writers of those Times, that the* Committee of Safety *suspected him at the very first, and that they wou'd have secur'd him, had he not by the greatest Chance in the World escap'd the Trap they had laid for him. 'Tis further confess'd, that before he stirr'd from* Scotland, *there were those who us'd to say,* he had a King in his Belly. There's a King at the Bottom of all, *says another. And in* England *many were so sure of it, that the* Royalists *printed the following Prophesy.*

When the *Monk* ſhall unvail his Hood,
And Fifty Thouſand here ſhall reign;
And Traitors Heads ſhall ſwim in Blood,
We ſhall be happy then again.
Till then expect no Settlement
From Army or from Parliament.

But now tis time to come to more poſitive Proofs, and theſe we have from the two that were the moſt intimate with him of all Mankind: Mr. Clarges *(after the* Reſtoration *Sir* Thomas*) his Wive's Brother, his Agent, Confident, and Correſpondent at* London*; and Dr.* Gumble*, Chaplain firſt to the Council in* Scotland*, and next to the* General *himſelf. Theſe two have acquainted us with what they learnt touching this Matter of their own Knowledge, by perſonal Communication with the* General*, by his Anſwers to their Advices, and by his ſeveral Inſtructions which they were to follow, in the Parts he aſſign'd them in the Action. They both agree that his younger Brother Mr.* Nicholas Monk *(after the* Reſtoration *Biſhop of* Hereford*) was not only ſent betimes to the* General *in* Scotland*, with Inſtructions from the* Royaliſts *of* Devonſhire*, and a Letter which the King had ſent to* Monk *by the Hands of Sir* John Greenvill *his Couſin German; but that he call'd at* London *for further Inſtructions from* Clarges*, who provided him with a Paſſage, and tells us how and with whom he was further to communicate in* Scotland*; namely, with Dr.* Samuel Barrow*, Phyſician to the Army, ejected out of* Trinity College *in* Cambridge *for his Affection to the King, and with Mr.* John Price *the* General's *Chaplain, the Son of a ſequeſter'd Miniſter. Theſe Men employ'd ſo near his Perſon, ſo buſy about his Soul and Body, might ſerve to many others for good Preſumptions of* Monk's *Inclinations:*

matters: for I cannot but agree with the Author of the Art of Restoring, *that the Company with which Sir* Roger *topes and talks Politicks (to speak nothing of his Catholick Diversion) gives very reasonable Jealousies of his Intentions; and certainly a Man may as well be discerned by his Favourite Physician, as by his Favourite Divine.* Gumble *does positively affirm, that if* Richard Cromwell *had not abdicated, the* General *wou'd have marched even then to effect what he did afterwards; and insinuates, that being consulted by him, he directly exhorted him to restore the King, which, he says, the* General *intended all along: and so, in his tedious canting manner, he makes the best Apology he can for the* General's *solemn Declarations to the contrary, comparing him to* Hushai, *and shewing himself to be a wretched tho modish Divine. Nay, long before-hand had* Monk *entertain'd this Project, that in the Year* 1657, *he told a private Friend of* Dalkeith (*which I take to be the Relater* Gumble *himself*) *that* the King wou'd be restor'd before the thirtieth Year of his Age. *Being ask'd, by what Means he came to that Knowledge? he replied,* By one that had cast his Nativity. *The other, who smelt him, answer'd,* that he had heard something of that Nature, and that he shou'd be restor'd by a Monk. *Both* Gumble *and* Clarges *own, that he was ready to second Sir* George Booth's *rising in* Cheshire; *and that he had a Declaration prepar'd, if Sir* George *had succeeded. But* Clarges *alone, whose particular Account of this whole Matter we have in our Hands, is worth a thousand Witnesses. For though the* Additions *to Sir* Richard Baker's Chronicle *are printed under the Name of* Philips, *yet 'tis well known how all that regards the* Restoration *was dictated by* Clarges, *who is justly censur'd for vainly ascribing so much to himself in this*

Affair,

Affair, and for which his Brother-in-law the General *us'd him very scurvily. Now* Clarges *acknowledges, that the* General, *before he stirr'd a Foot out of* Scotland, *confess'd to him, that he wou'd let in the* Secluded Members, *than which there needed not a clearer Indication of his Design to let in the King; and that when Mr.* Bowles, *a leading Minister of* York, *the Confident of the Lord* Fairfax, *and other* Royalists *of* Yorkshire, *had in a Letter by Major General* Morgan, *assur'd the General* they were willing to join with him, but that they disprov'd of his *Declaration*, which was restrain'd to the Restoring of that Part of the Parliament only which sate after the Seclusion of the rest, and was fill'd with many *Protestations* for the asserting of no other than a COMMONWEALTH Government: *That to this the* General *answer'd,* Clarges cou'd witness his Intentions in these Particulars, and that what was printed in his Name was not at that Conjuncture to be regarded as the Result of his own Reason; that his Writings being necessarily drawn up by other Hands, it wou'd be unseasonable in him to contradict what was done, since even all these Writings cou'd scarce prevail with the *Army* to believe he had not a Design to restore the KING. *There is no Evidence can possibly go further than this Relation of* Clarges, *who himself had manag'd this Intelligence, and who in the* Preface *tells us, consonant to this Passage, that the General's* Secrecy in the Conduct of this great Affair was very remarkable, being oblig'd to act very differently from his Intentions to gain the Confidence of his jealous Masters. *'Tis (by the way) in these* Additions *to Sir* Richard Baker, *that you have the King's* Letter *at length to* Monk, *which, as I said before, was enclos'd to Sir* Richard Greenville, *afterwards Earl of* Bath, *and also the* Letter *to*

Sir

Sr Richard *himself: both so authentick, that neither the King, nor the General, nor the Earl, ever disown'd them; and they are in this Collection inserted* N° XXVII, XXIX. *as* Monk's *Letter to the King from* Edenborough *is* N° XXX. *After taking Notice that* Clarges *brought an agreeable Answer out of* Scotland *to Mr.* Bowles (*whom he further satisfied by Word of Mouth concerning the* General's *Intentions in all Particulars*) *I might stop my Hand here; having made good what I promised to prove,* that the General had projected the Restoration early *in* Scotland, *and was not carried into it by the Stream in* England, *as the only good Thing he either could do, or cou'd not avoid. But I must further observe, that tho at* Leicester, *in a Conference with the Deputies of the City of* London *and the Gentlemen of* Northamptonshire, *he openly declar'd against admitting the* Secluded Members; *yet by* Clarges *he privately gave the* Londoners *Assurance of the contrary, excusing what he had done from the Presence of* Scot *and* Robinson, *the* Parliament's *Commissioners. The same Assurances he gave the* Northamptonshire *Gentlemen by Mr.* Philip Howard. *And when afterwards the* Secluded Members *were actually restor'd,* Clarges *affirm'd to a certain Earl, that* the General was very well satisfied the Parliament was dissolv'd by the Death of the late King; and that the present Sitting of the Members was a Constitution rather taken up from Necessity than Right. *His early Merit in the* Restoration *being so clearly made out, it will be said, that among those who detracted from him on this score, I have not nam'd the* Earl *of* Shaftsbury, *which yet has been done by the Author of* The Art of Restoring. *To this I answer, that this Writer's Observations are most true in that Respect; and that when* Hazlerig, Scot, *and other despairing* Republicans *had offer'd the Supreme*

Power to Monk, *under the Title of King, Protector, or whatever other he shou'd like best, it appears by* Clarges *his answer was*, that the Experience of *Cromwell*'s Fate gave him Reasons to avoid the Rock on which that Family had split. *It was this wise Consideration that made him refuse the tempting Offer, and Sir* Anthony Ashley Cooper *was so far from diverting him from accepting the Crown by the means of his Wife*, that Clarges, *to whom the Proposition was made for his own Ends by the* French *Ambassador, and who with Difficulty procur'd an Interview for him with the* General, *assures us, it was with this express Condition*, That he shou'd not say one Word upon that Subject, but spend his short Visit upon indifferent things. *For the rest, it cannot with any Colour be denied, but that* Monk's *Conduct was wholly unbecoming a* Christian, *or a Man of* Honour: *for the allowable Prudence and Dexterity of a Statesman do not by any means consist in such gross Prevarication and shameless Falshood. The* Politician, *on the contrary, who has not fix'd an Opinion of his unbiass'd Integrity and Candour (and this also in his private Capacity) can never succeed throughout in the requisite Subtleties and Stratagems of the* Cabinet. *Even there, as well as in negotiating with foreign States,* Honesty is the best Policy. *But tis ever and indispensably so with regard to the Subjects at home, where the reputed cunning Minister, especially if he be a* Single Minister, *does but more and more, by his emergent Expedients, or rather by sharping Tricks and Shifts, involve his Prince and himself in numberless Difficulties. To be reserv'd is one thing, and never to speak Truth is quite another thing. In a Word, I cannot but approve the Observation, that* the same flagitious Methods which have been practis'd (for private Ends) to change a bad Government into a good one, are more likely

to

to be practis'd (for the same selfish Ends) to change a good Government into a bad one. *But, as for* Sir Roger, *there needs little more to be said by any body, since he's now become so well known to every body; that no Mortal, either at home or abroad (one only Person, whom I heartily pity, excepted) does believe a Word of what he says, or places the least Confidence in his Promises, Engagements, or Oaths, They give him in exchange as good Words as he brings: and I fancy, he has learnt by Experience the Truth of an ordinary Saying, that* There's no Man so cunning, but there's an other Man cunninger than he. *Nevertheless, since we have been told in what things* Monk *and he agree, we shou'd, methinks, be likewise told in what things they do not agree; which I can thus briefly resolve to my self, that he most eminently possesses all* Monk's *bad Qualities, and not any one of his good ones. More particularly,* Monk *was a plain blunt Man, no affected Droll or insipid Banterer; nor even a double Dealer, excepting purely in his* Restoring Capacity, *wherein Original* George *is infinitely out-done by Copy* Hodge. Monk *was a very sober Person, no Drinker especially:* Sir Roger

——— Nunquam nisi potus ad arma,
Prosiluit dicenda. ———

Yet I don't mean that a Man, who guzzles so plentifully every Night (to the warming of his Head, and the cooling of his Fancy) was never drunk but as oft as he declaim'd against the late War; *since this same Man of* Peace *appears now more disorder'd than ever, denouncing new Ruptures, dreaming of fatal Wars in* Italy, *and the Lord knows in how many Places besides: spiriting up Enemies from all Quarters, even from the Borders of* China, *in the Room of that one Enemy*

whom

whom we had ſo fairly thrown on his back, and have ſo frankly ſet on his Legs again. Monk behav'd himſelf with ſuitable Modeſty towards all Men, and was punctual in keeping his Word with the meaneſt Soldier and Seaman, ſcorning to deceive any thing under three Nations: Sir Roger, who thinks to deceive all Nations, treats every Rank of Men with equal Inſolence and Contempt, having no more regard for his Word, than if it were diſhonourable for a great Man to be a Slave to any ſuch thing; grounding himſelf on that Scripture, Surely Men of low Degree are Vanity, and Men of high Degree are a Lie, for he has formerly read the Bible and ſung Pſalms. Monk was abſolutely illiterate, Sir Roger is a huge Scholard: and therefore I expect and require, that he gives us either ſome Precedent, or a good Reaſon, for the new Title of Most Catholick, twice given to the King of Spain, in the Proclamation for publiſhing the Peace, dated at St. James's the 28th Day of this laſt February. This being done by the Queen's Authority, I pretend not to cenſure or blame; as I further grant, that we Proteſtants mean no more by the Word Catholick in the King of Spain's Title, than the Spaniards do by Defender of the Faith in the Title of our Queen. Theſe are things of courſe, and mere Complements, when once ſuch Titles are generally admitted. But as we know, that all Princes and States are extremely jealous and backward, in allowing any new Augmentation of Titles, and that we conceive this of Most Catholick to be a perfect Novelty: ſo we ſhall be obliged to Sir Roger, if by himſelf, or the orthodox Dean, or any other ſuch honeſt Hand, he either gives us a Precedent, that a King of Spain has been ſo ſtil'd before by any of our Kings; or the Reaſon why we think fit now, to put this Mark of Diſtinction on Philip the Fifth. When he does this, I can ſhew him in return, that Difficulties have been made

here

here of giving even the Title of Catholick: *and I am confident, that, for three Years past, the Titles of* Most Christian, *and* King of France, *have been us'd at least twenty times, for one time that they were so in fourscore Years before; the common Stile these Hundreds of Years having been, for Reasons known to every body, that of* French King. *I desire further Information from our learned Knight and Antiquary, why, in the 25th Article of the late* Treaty *of Peace with* Spain, *the City of* Dantzick (Civitas Gedanensis) *is in the* Latin *Column, and yet the City of* Geneva *expresly in the* English *over against it? Or, if it shou'd be answer'd that this is an Error of the Press, I still want to know which Place is truly design'd, that none of her Majesty's Subjects may continue longer under a Mistake on this Subject: for a few old* Presbyterians *will needs have it, that* Geneva *is meant, tho all the* Highchurchmen *assure them, that* Geneva *was never once thought of. I have more solid Remarks to make upon this* Treaty of Peace, *but I reserve them till we see the* Treaty of Commerce. TANTUM *for Sir* Roger. *But I wonder the Author of the* Art of Restoring *has not given us the* Art of making People believe till they feel the contrary, *the* Art of throwing Dust in Mens Eyes and Dirt on their Backs, *the* Art of leading from one Step to another till one's led into a Pit, *the* Art of Restoring Credit by lowering of Stocks, *the* Art of making the North Sea pass for the South Sea, *the* Art of making War on Inland * Potentates without Land-Forces, *the* Art of Speaking much and Saying nothing, *with many other very fashionable Arts and quaint Devices, lately imported from* France,

* Both Houses did assure her Majesty last Parliament, that they wou'd assist her with their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, to make her Instances effectual with the Duke of *Lorrain* for removing the *Pretender* out of his Dominions.

France, *tho the* Bill of Commerce *is not yet past, as I hope it never will be. Not to detain the Reader longer from the Perusal of the* Letters, *to be sure the Writer of the Life, (if any such there be) is not ignorant, that* Monk *liv'd to repent of what he did: but whether 'tis to this Change of Mind, or to his dissembling Faculty, that he ascribes his Exclamation to* Harry Nevill, *must continue a Secret till the Publication of the Book. The Fact is, that his old Brother Republican* Nevill, *going to wait upon him after the* Restoration, *with the Prince of* Tuscany, *he immediately cry'd out,* O my Friend, What a glorious Cause have we lost!

A Collection of General MONK's *LETTERS, &c.*

I.

An Addreſs to the Parliament from the Army in Scotland.

Right Honourable,

THAT a Nation may be born in a Day, is a Truth which this Day's Experience witneſſeth unto us againſt all the Dictates of Human Reaſon; and that a glorious Cauſe, whoſe Intereſt was laid low (even in the Duſt) ſhould be in one Day reſtor'd to its Life and Luſtre, when almoſt all the Aſſertors of it had ſo manifeſtly declined it by a Defection of many Years, cannot be imputed to leſs than the greateſt and moſt powerful Manifeſtation of the Arm of God, that ever this or former Generations ſaw or heard of. In the Senſe of this (the greateſt of our temporal Mercies) we now come to addreſs to your Honours, as thoſe whoſe Preſence we have ſo long wanted, that had you ſtaid but a little longer, it might have been left to be enquired what *England* was; we mean, what was become of that People,

by whom God, for ſo many Years, fill'd the World with ſo much Admiration and Terror. But tho' this great Work be (as moſt juſtly it ought to be) wonderful in our Eyes, yet when we conſider its Author, who calls things that are not as if they were, bringeth down to the Pit, and raiſeth up again: We ſee that nothing is difficult to Faith, and the Promiſes of God are ſure and ſtable, even then when in the Eye of Man no leſs than impoſſible. We cannot but acknowledge to our exceeding great Sorrow and Shame, that our ſelves (though we hope moſt of us through Weakneſs and Frailty, not out of Deſign) have very much contributed to thoſe Provocations, which have cauſed God to depart from our *Iſrael*; and we could heartily wiſh, that even amongſt thoſe that help to make up your own Number, there had not been an helping Hand to this ſad and deplorable Work: But we ſee when God's Hour is come, and the Time of his People's Deliverance (even the ſet Time is at hand) he cometh skipping over all the Mountains of Sin and Unworthineſs that we daily caſt in the Way. We are not willing to detain your Honours too long upon this Subject; and therefore beſeeching the God of all our Mercies, to heal the Backſlidings of his People, and not to charge unto their Account, in this his Day of their Deliverance, their Miſcarriages, whilſt they were wandering in dark and ſlippery Places, after the Imaginations of their own Hearts: We with all Humility and Affection, in the firſt Place congratulate you in this your happy Reſtoration to the Government of theſe Nations, which God was pleaſed once ſo to own in your Hands, as to make you both the Praiſe and Wonder of the Earth, the Glory and Rejoicing of his People, and the Terror of your Adverſaries; and we acknowledge it a ſin-

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gular Condescention in you, in this Day of so great Difficulties, to take upon you so heavy a Burthen. And seeing his late Highness hath been pleased to manifest so much Self-Denial and Love to his Country, in appearing for the Interest thereof against his own; we humbly intreat that some speedy Care may be taken for him and his Family, (together with her Highness Dowager) that there may be such an Honourable Provision settled upon them, and such other Dignities as are suitable to the former great Services of that Family to these Nations. And in the next Place we cannot but humbly beseech you, now you have an Opportunity, than which a fitter your Hearts did never pray for, to finish the Work of Reformation that hath been so long upon the Wheel, and met with so great Obstructions: that you would not heal the Wound of the Daughter of God's People slightly, but make so sure and lasting Provision for both their Christian and Civil Rights, as that both this and future Generations may have Cause to rise up and call you blessed, and the blackest of Designs may never be able to cast Dirt in your Faces any more; and as helpful to these two great Concernments, *Religion* and *Liberty*, we humbly propose unto your mature Consideration these two Desires; *First*, That you would be pleas'd to countenance Godliness, and all the sincere Professors thereof, encourage an able and laborious Ministry, and suffer no other Yoke to be imposed upon the Consciences of God's People, than what may be agreeable to the Word of God; and that you would be a Terror to all impious, prophane, and licentious People whatsoever. *Secondly*, That you would so vindicate and assert the Native Rights and Liberties of these Nations, in and by the Government of a *Free State*,

that there may not be the Voice of an oppreſſed one in our Land, but that all may enjoy the bleſſed Fruits of your righteous and peaceable Government. And for the Prevention of all Poſſibility for ambitious Spirits ever to work their Ends againſt you; we humbly deſire you to be very careful, as well what Perſons you entruſt with the Management of the Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth, as of the Meaſure of that Power and Authority you depart with to them, or ſubſtitute in them. Touching the Qualifications of the Perſons, we deſire they may be truly godly and conſcientious. Touching the Meaſure of their Authority, that it may be adequate to the Nature and Being of a Commonwealth. And whilſt you are thus pleading and aſſerting the Intereſt of God and his People, you may reſt aſſured with greateſt Confidence, that we ſhall appear in your Defence, and the Vindication of your Authority, againſt the Oppoſition of all Arbitrary Powers whatſoever. And to that bleſſed and all-powerful God, who is able to ſpirit you for this great Work; you are and ſhall daily be recommended in the Prayers of,

Your moſt Loyal and moſt
Obedient Servants,

George Monk	*Rich. Heath*	*Will. Davis*
Thomas Read	*Mi. Richardſon*	*James Wright*
Ralph Cobbet	*J. Hubblethorn*	*Joſ. Wallington*
Tim. Wilks	*Tho. Johnſon*	*Will. Helling*
Robert Read	*P. Criſp*	*Ethelb. Morgan*
John Cloberry	*H. Brightman*	*Rob. Winter*
Abra. Holmes	*Phil. Watſon*	*John Paddon*
Henr. Dorney	*Tho. Dean*	*Anth. Nowers*
Dan. Daviſon	*Jerem. Smith*	

II.

A Letter from ſome Officers at Whitehall, *to the Commander in chief of the Forces in* Scotland, *to be communicated to the Officers of the Army there.*

Gentlemen,

WE hold it a Duty incumbent upon us, in order to the Preſerving the Peace of this *Common-wealth*, as well as to give you Satisfaction in an extraordinary Paſſage of Providence that lately hath befallen us, which nothing but Neceſſity and Senſe of Duty could have prevailed with us to have undertaken. Of late, the old Spirit of *Malignancy* in all Parts of the Nation appeared, as well in the old profeſſed Adverſaries, as Neuters, and pretended Friends; who, having ſworn a Confederacy and Secrecy, and fitted and prepared themſelves to have ſwallowed up the Intereſt of the good People of this *Common-wealth*, through the Bleſſing of God were prevented in very many Places: only in *Cheſhire* they got an Head, as we preſume you have long ſince heard. Againſt which Force, the Lord *Lambert* was ſent with a Brigade, who (with the Hazard of all that was dear to them) with Chearfulneſs undertook that Service: And God having, according to his wonted Kindneſs, given an Iſſue to that Undertaking, (even when the Enemy concluded of Succeſs) the Officers there weighing their Duty in improving that ſignal Mercy, and conſidering how craftily thoſe that bore to the Adverſary Good-will in former Times, had,

by fair Speeches, Pretences and Suggeſtions, cheated us of our Hopes and Expectations; and finding the Diſeaſe more general than was to be ſuppoſed to be underſtood by the Parliament, did agree upon *an humble Petition and Propoſals* to them, with a very ſober and Chriſtian Letter, ſending the ſaid *Petition* and *Propoſals* in the ſaid Letter to the Lord *Fleetwood*, with a Deſire, that if he thought it fit, it might be communicated to a General Council of Officers for their Approbation. His Lordſhip forthwith communicated the ſaid Letter and Paper to Sir *Ar. Hazlerig*, with a Deſire, that himſelf, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Major *Salway*, would give his Lordſhip a Meeting, to conſider what was fit to be done therein, who promiſed to anſwer his Lordſhip's Deſire. But notwithſtanding inſtead thereof, the next Day, the ſaid Sir *Arthur* acquainted the Houſe (for what Reaſon we know not) of the ſaid Paper, and that there was a dangerous Deſign among thoſe faithful Servants of the *Commonwealth*. Upon which Rumours were ſpread abroad of introducing a Government by a ſingle Perſon, (which was directly contrary to the Scope and Deſire of the ſaid Paper) Whereupon the Houſe order'd an Admonition to be given to the Officers of the Army, and reproachful Speeches were frequently caſt up and down, of ſending the Lord *Lambert* to the Tower, and that ſome of the chief Officers in the ſaid Brigade deſerv'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. By all which we clearly perceiv'd, the Deſign was either to divide between the Parliament and the Army, or between the Army and the good People of the Nation, or the Army within it ſelf. Upon which the Officers here met, and agreed upon *an humble Repreſentation and Petition*, which they delivered to the Houſe, and had their Thanks,

with

with a Promiſe that their Propoſals in the ſaid Petition ſhould be taken into Conſideration. At which General Council (to the End that nothing might be done by us but what you might have full Knowledge of) Directions were given for ſending the ſame, together with the Reaſons and Grounds thereof, unto you. One of which Letters being ſent to Coll. *Okey*'s Regiment, was brought into the Houſe by a Member thereof. The Houſe thereupon declared the Lord *Fleetwood*'s Commiſſion void, together with the Commiſſions of the Lord *Lambert*, Major General *Disbrow*, and ſeven more Field Officers. And all this was done without ſo much as hearing them ſpeak one Word for themſelves, or examining whether the Names ſubſcribed to the ſaid Letter were the Hand-writing of the ſaid Officers, and all ariſing upon the ſame Matter for which before they had given Thanks to the Army, (an ill Requital for their unwearied Pains for the Service of this *Commonwealth.*) And ſome who ſeemed more eager to inflict Puniſhment upon thoſe Officers that ſubdued the Common Enemy, than upon the Common Enemy by them ſubdued; had ſo contrived it, that the Regiment commanded by Coll. *Morley*, (who, with ſix others were appointed to command the Army) was brought on for the Guard of the Houſe, ſix or ſeven Barrels of Powder laid in, together with Proviſions, in order to the effectual Proſecution of the ſaid Deſign.

So ſoon as the Officers had the Knowledge of theſe Proceedings, and finding all once more laid at ſtake, they reſolved to truſt the Lord with the Iſſue, and took Arms for the Preſervation of the good People and Peace of theſe Nations, and have put a Stop to the ſitting of the Parliament for the

preſent; concluding it a Betraying of that Cauſe and Intereſt, more precious than our Lives, and for which we have often jeoparded our All, to ſuffer this Army, that God hath made the Bulwark of the Peace of the Nation, to be divided and broken, to anſwer the Ends and Deſigns of evil minded Men. And therefore upon the whole, our humble Requeſt to you is, that you would not haſtily judge this Action; it being our Deſire and Deſign to approve our Hearts to God, that our End is the Glory of God, the Peace of theſe Nations, and the Settlement thereof in the Way of *a Commonwealth, without a ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Peers.* And therefore whatever Reports or Suggeſtions the Enemy may raiſe to the contrary, we deſire you would give no Place or Credit thereunto. But in your ſeveral Places ſtrive to preſerve the Peace, and to ſuppreſs any turbulent or diſcontented Spirit, or Contrivance of the Enemy, under what Name or Appearance ſoever it ſhall ſhew it ſelf. In order to which the Officers here, at a General Council, have with an unanimous Conſent acknowledg'd and own'd the Lord *Fleetwood* Commander in Chief of the Army; and declared their Reſolution to obey no other Orders, but what ſhall be given or communicated by his Lordſhip; and to look on thoſe that are contrary minded as Diſturbers of the Peace of the Army; and further have under Conſideration what may be neceſſary and fit, in order to the ſpeedy and effectual Settlement of the Armies, and this *Commonwealth.* And for your more full and clear Information in theſe things, we have ſent you Copies of our ſaid *Repreſentation and Petition*, and Letters upon which the Houſe paſs'd the ſaid Votes. We ſhall add no more, but commend you to the Lord, and deſire

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your Prayers, that God would now appear in giving Wiſdom and Underſtanding, that we may know what to do, and find his Preſence with us in our Undertakings, that the End of this may be his Glory, the Comfort of thoſe that fear the Lord, and the Peace and good Settlement of this *Commonwealth*. For a more particular Account of Affairs here at preſent, we refer you to the Bearer hereof, Coll. *Cobbet*, to whom we deſire you will give Credit. We remain,

Your affectionate Friends
and Servants,

John Disbrow	*Char. Fleetwood*
Ja. Berry	*Tho. Kelſey*
Jo. Maſon	*Jo. Duckenfield*
Ed. Salmon	*Jer. Camfeild*

Theſe for the Right Honourable General Monk, *to be by him communicated to the reſt of the Officers of the Army in* Scotland.

III.

An Anſwer of the Commander in Chief and Officers of the Forces in Scotland, *to a Letter from ſome Officers at* Whitehall.

Gentlemen,

WITH how great Reluctancy we put Pen to Paper againſt you, our ſad Hearts, which are ſtill firmly united to you in the ſame Bond of Love

Love as ever, can bear us witneſs. Yet, that we may not be wanting in our Duty to God, our Country, and Poſterities, in a Day of ſo great Trial as is come upon us; we are conſtrain'd to bear our Teſtimony againſt your late violent Proceedings, upon the Parliament of *England*; for which Proceedings we confeſs our ſelves altogether ignorant of a warrantable Ground (notwithſtanding the Account you have given us) either from Scripture, Reaſon, or Neceſſity. For, ſuppoſe the Account you have given us of that Action to be impartial, (which yet we think we have ſome Ground to ſuſpect) we would gladly know what Ground there could be of ſending about your late *Petition and Repreſentation*, to create Greatneſs and Power in Men (a thing of dangerous Conſequence) after you had received the Parliament's Anſwer thereunto? If you avow the Thanks of the Houſe? We anſwer, thoſe had no Relation to the Matter of the *Petition*; for that they gave their Senſe of that before, *viz.* That it was Dangerous, Chargeable, and Uſeleſs, to make more General Officers than they had made. Their Thanks were only for your good Expreſſions in the *Petition*, whereof they could not but have theſe eſpecially in their Conſiderations, *viz.* your acknowledging them the Supreme Authority of theſe Nations, and your ſelves their faithful and obedient Servants. Now by appointing a Committee to recommend that *Petition* to all Regiments for Subſcriptions, after ſo great a Progreſs made in it by a few, and the Parliament's Negative Senſe declared of it; what could there be in Deſign but a ſtirring up the Army againſt the Parliament? This we cannot but take Notice of, as a conſiderable Circumſtance in the Management of that Affair. To the Matter it ſelf of the *Petition*, we

mean only, that of appointing General Officers, we think we have juſt Cauſe to declare our Diſlike. And we cannot but wonder how ſuch as have ſo lately eſcaped out of the Tyranny of an abſolute Monarch, whereunto by their own too credulous Inclinations they unhappily fell, ſhould again carry ſo many Materials for the Building up of that they have ſo lately deſtroyed. The beſt of Men, we know, are ſubject to many Failings; and how this Army, and theſe poor Nations have already been cheated with ſpecious Pretences, the ſad Revolutions theſe five Years laſt paſt do ſufficiently evidence. No doubt many pious Men were made to believe, after the former Interruption of this Parliament, that the Yoke ſhould be taken off the Neck of the Oppreſſed, none but faithful and godly Men kept in Authority, and ſundry other Promiſes of like Import: And no ſooner was that Work done, but all the Godly in the Land were animated in their Differences, many faithful ones in the Army and Navy, and in Civil Judicatories, ſhamefully removed; many precious ones ſent to loathſome Goals, very few, ſave Court-Compliers, countenanced; till our Yoke was become heavier than what our Fathers Necks had been accuſtom'd to; and an Officer of the Army as contemptible and odious in the Eyes of the Honeſt Party in *England*, as a Janizary at *Conſtantinople*, and ſcarcely known or diſtinguiſhed by any other Title. There are living Teſtimonies among your ſelves, which, to their ſad Experience, can put their Seal to theſe Truths; witneſs Lord *Lambert*, Coll. *Overton*, Coll. *Rich*, Coll. *Okey*, Coll. *Saunders*, Coll. *Alured*, Coll. *Packer*, and his Officers, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Harriſon*, Mr. *Carew*, Quarter-maſter General *Courtney*, with many others, which would be

too long to inſert. And is Servitude and Oppreſſion already become ſo deſireable a thing, that it muſt be courted and petition'd for? What can ſo readily create Servitude as the contracting the Power of the Nation in ſo narrow a Space as a ſingle Perſon, or a few of any one Faction? Will not this be to rule the reſt of the Nation with a Rod of Iron? For can any thing but Force ſupport ſuch a Government? Yea, ſuch a Force as muſt beggar our ſelves and Poſterities, in a very few Years, even to their Skins! We beſeech you lay theſe things ſincerely upon your Hearts, and let not the ancient Foundation of our Liberties (we mean the Authority of Parliaments) be deſtroy'd, or made contemptible. You cannot but acknowledge that the Bleſſing of God was on us in all our publick Enterprizes, whilſt we ſtood by them; and as great a Withdrawing of his Preſence from us, when we fell from them. We were told by yours of late, that the *Malignant* Party were grown ſo high, that ſuch as were inſtrumental in bringing the King to Juſtice, and eſtabliſhing the Government in a *Commonwealth*, were marked out for Deſtruction, and like to be expoſed to the Rage of their Enemies. We beſeech you look narrowly into your own Hearts, and then tell us by whom they are ſo expoſed at this time, and what other Conſequent of it can be, but the Heightning of the Spirits of the *Malignant* Party? for the Encouragement of which Intereſt, we think the Wit of Man could not have deviſed a more effectual Mean than the Interruption of the Parliament, wherein (by your own Confeſſion) you have reſiſted the Supreme Authority of the Nation, and conſequently the Ordinance of God, not to be juſtified by the higheſt Neceſſity. We therefore intreat you with

all Earneſtneſs of Spirit, that as you love the Intereſt of God's People, the Peace and Liberty of theſe Nations, and the Quiet of your Conſcience, when you ſhall be drawing near to the Cloſe of your Days; That you would ſpeedily invite the Members of Parliament to return to the Diſcharge of their Duties in that Freedom and Liberty in which the Supream Authority of theſe Nations ought to ſit. And we do aſſure you, that touching the Officers of the Army, upon whom their late Votes of Diſmiſſion were paſt, none ſhall interpoſe with greater Vigour and Zeal for the Continuance of them in their Commands, and for an *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion*, than our ſelves. And in all other things that may conduce to the Union of the Army, and of the good People of the Land, and to the eſtabliſhing the Kingdom of Chriſt in Righteouſneſs and Peace amongſt us, we will go Hand in Hand with you. Mean while our Prayers to God ſhall be for the Guidance of his Spirit, both to you and us: To which good Spirit we recommend you, and remain,

Edinburgh, Oct. 27. 1659.

Your affectionate Friends and Servants.

For the Right Honourable the Lord Fleetwood, *to be communicated to the Officers of the Army at* Whitehall.

III.

III.

To the Lord LAMBERT.

Right Honourable,

HAving notice, that a Part of the Army under the Parliaments Command, have, contrary to their Duty, put Force upon them; I have therefore ſent this Meſſenger to your Lordſhip, to intreat you to be an Inſtrument of Peace and good Underſtanding between Parliament and Army: For, if they ſhall continue this Force, I am reſolved, with the Aſſiſtance of God, and that part of the Army under my Command, to ſtand by them, and aſſert their lawful Authority. For, Sir, the Nation of *England* will not endure any Arbitrary Power, neither will any true *Engliſh-man* in the Army; ſo that ſuch a Deſign will be ruinous and deſtructive: Therefore I do earneſtly intreat you, that we may not be a Scorn to all the World, and a Prey to our Enemies, that the Parliament may be ſpeedily reſtored to their Freedom, which they enjoyed on the 11*th* of this inſtant. Which is all at preſent from

Your Lordſhip's Humble Servant,

George Monk.

IV.

A Letter of the Officers of the Army in Scotland, under the Commander in Chief there, to the Officers of the Army in England.

Dear Brethren and Friends,

THIS is, of all the Days of Trouble God hath brought upon us, the ſaddeſt that ever our Eyes ſaw in theſe poor Nations. We have had to do often with the Common Enemy, but never before engaged againſt our Friends; the very Thoughts of which is a Wound, deeper in our Spirits, than the Sword can make in our Bowels. Above all things therefore it is our earneſt Prayer, and ſhall be our Endeavour, to reconcile the Differences, in that which to our Conſciences ſeems the moſt equitable and juſt Medium for us to agree in; namely, to intreat you (as we have interpoſed with the ſuperior Officers of the Army) to labour a due Underſtanding between your ſelves and the Parliament, the Neceſſity and Equity of which Requeſt, we cannot but believe you muſt ſubſcribe to, if you ſeriouſly conſider a few Propoſals. 1. Whether the aſſerting of a free Parliament, duly qualified, of faithful Men to God and his People in theſe Nations, to be the Supream Legiſlative Authority of theſe Nations, was not the *Good Old Cauſe* we fought for; as that only which vindicated in Spirituals our Conſciences from Impoſition upon them, contrary to the Liberty of the Subjects of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and our Perſons, and Eſtates, and Poſterity in Civils, from the Uſurpations of the late King upon the Liberties and antient Rights of the free-born People of *England*. 2. Whether it be not the only

ly Vindication of your late laying aſide the Son and Succeſſor of our old General; becauſe you did verily believe, as you have proteſted to the World, That the Government of any ſingle Perſon might in time ruin the aforementioned Liberties, purchaſed by our Blood, and the vaſt Treaſures of this *Commonwealth*: *Monarchy*, however bounded, neceſſarily requiring Uniformity as to Religion, and Prerogative as to Civils, both which muſt needs be oppreſſive and deſtructive to our Conſciences and Rights. 3. Whether, when you ſet up again this Famous Old Parliament, you did not believe in your Conſciences that it was a Return to *the Good Old Cauſe*, from which you had apoſtatized, and the beſt Expedient to heal the ſad Breaches of this poor *Commonwealth*, which the Luſts of Men have made; witneſs your Declaration preſented by the Lord *Lambert*, and the reſt (on the ſixth of *May*) to the Speaker, as the Repreſentee of the Houſe. 4. Whether this Parliament hath ever yet endanger'd or diſown'd you, or the Nation in theſe Great Ends (which can only acquit all the Bloodſhed from Murther) your Liberties as *Engliſhmen*, and your Privileges as Chriſtians; but rather have given you Security for both, in ſuch Votes as they had time to paſs, by ſuch Promiſes as they are too honeſt to forget, and by a Progreſs large enough, conſidering the Confuſions and Difficulties they found the Government in, by our ſetting up the things, of which we are now aſhamed. 5. Whether, if your Conſciences be better informed, it can ſatisfy ours, or any Chriſtian Conſciences in the Nation, to act according to your particular Apprehenſions, when we ſee them croſs ſo much the plain Rule of the Word; which as it requires Obedience to all Authority, ſo much more to that

which

which is asserted and settled upon the surest Foundation of the Peoples Rights, and to which you are so solemnly engaged by Protestations, as in the Presence of God, who will not hold them guiltless that take his Name in vain. 6. Whether, if upon this Occasion of our Dissentings, the Common Enemy should arise with a stronger Party, and make use of our Divisions to yoke us in Bondage worse than ever, that their Little Finger should be heavier than the Loins of those that preceded them; the People of these Nations would not have sad Cause to leave at your Doors the Blood of those Innocents they must sacrifice to their Cruelty; considering especially that the Redemption of these old Usurpations must be by the Heads of God's People, and bring worse upon us, the Blood of Saints, whose Death is precious in the sight of the Lord? We beg you therefore to lay to heart the Premisses, and believe we are Men of such Consciences, as cannot close with this Action, and acquiesce in it; but would cordially desire, that God may humble us for the Evil of our Ways, that in making Peace with him we may unite in Love to each other. And we shall also assure you, that tho' the present Emergency hath made our Commander in chief to put some of the Officers from their Commands, whose Actings have not been such as might promise they can cordially join in this Business; yet he hath continued to them their Sallaries out of the Contingencies of the Army, till the Parliament's Pleasure be further known. And we shall also assure you, that whatever Endeavours may be for the settling of this Parliament again in a free Capacity to act for us in these Nations, we shall be as ready as you to bear a Testimony against them suitable to our Station, if they should violate the

ſo often promiſed and engaged for Liberties of theſe Nations, whether Spiritual or Civil? There being a Witneſs againſt them in their late Votes, that the Repreſentative of the People is entruſted, not for the Ruin, but the Safety of the *Commonwealth*.

Linlithgow, Octob. 22. 1659. Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment of the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*.

William Clarke, Secretary.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Fleetwood, *to be communicated to the Officers of the Army in and about* London.

VI.

To the SPEAKER.

Right Honourable,

HAving received notice, that there was a Force put upon the Parliament on the 12*th* of this inſtant, I have ſent this Meſſenger to your Lordſhip, to know whether that Force doth continue; for I am reſolved, by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of God, as a true *Engliſh-man*, to ſtand to and aſſert the Liberty and Authority of Parliament: And the Army here (praiſed be God) is very courageous and unanimous, and I doubt not but to give a good account of this Action to you. I have, according to your Act of the 11*th* inſtant (being conſtituted a Commiſſioner for the Government of the Army) put out ſuch Perſons as would not act according

cording to your Commission. I do call God to witness, that the asserting of a *Commonwealth* is the only Intent of my Heart, and I desire, if possible, to avoid the Shedding of Blood, and therefore intreat you, that there may be a good Understanding between Parliament and Army. But if they will not obey your Commands, I will not desert you, according to my Duty and Promise; which is all at present from

Edinburgh, Octob. 20. 1659.

Your humble and faithful Servant,

George Monk.

VII.

To the Lord FLEETWOOD.

Right Honourable,

I Have sent this Messenger to your Lordship, to let you know that we have received Notice, that a Part of the Army have put Force upon the Parliament, which they so lately called together, and owned, with the greatest Testimonies of Obedience and Repentance for their former Apostacy from them. I hope your Lordship will not abet an Action of such a dangerous and destructive Consequence. I know that you love the Liberty and Peace of *England* so well, that you will use your best Care, that Attempts of this nature be suppressed. I do therefore humbly intreat you, that the Parliament may be speedily restored to that Freedom, which they enjoyed on the 11*th* of this instant. Otherwise, I am resolved, by the Assistance

ſiſtance of God, with this Army under my Command, to declare for them, and to proſecute this juſt Cauſe to the laſt Drop of my Blood. I bleſs the Lord, that the Officers here are very unanimous, and for ſuch whoſe Hearts fail them, or which will not act according to their Commiſſions from the Parliament, I having Authority as one of the Seven Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament, to conſtitute ſuch as are chearful for this *Good Old Cauſe*, till the Parliament's Pleaſure be further known. And I do plainly aſſure your Lordſhip, that I was never better ſatisfied in the Juſtice of any Engagement, than in this. You cannot but remember, that God hath already ſhewed himſelf glorious in it, and determined the Quarrel on this ſide, againſt Arbitrary Power of raiſing Money without the Peoples Conſent firſt had, and the Management of the Militia by any other than the Parliament. I deſire your Lordſhip not to be deluded by the ſpecious Pretences of any ambitious Perſon whatſoever, and do not bring all the Blood that will be ſhed upon your own Head. My Lord, conſider how you will anſwer to the dreadful God for the Ruin of three Nations, for to ſerve a Luſt, or to gratify a Paſſion. For my particular, I am aſhamed of theſe Confuſions and Changes that we have made, that we are now become a Scorn and a Reproach to our very Friends, and deſign'd to Ruin by all our Neighbours. I take God to witneſs, that I have no further Ends than the eſtabliſhing of *Parliamentary Authority*, and thoſe good Laws that our Anceſtors have purchas'd with ſo much Blood, the ſettling the Nations in a free *Commonwealth*, and the Defence of Godlineſs and Godly Men, though of different Judgment. And I take my ſelf ſo far obliged, being in the Parliament's

Service,

Service, to ſtand, tho' alone, in this Quarrel: And I doubt not but your Lordſhip, having the Fear of God in your Heart, will carefully conſider of this Matter: Which is all at preſent from

Edinb. Octob. 20. 1659. Your Excellencies humble Servant,

George Monk.

VIII.

A Letter from the Officers at Whitehall *to the Officers under General* Monk *in* Scotland.

Dear Brethren and Fellow Souldiers,

WE moſt heartily wiſh Grace and Truth to be multiplied unto you through the Knowledge of God, and of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord. And alſo we deſire the God and Father of all Grace to add to your Faith Virtue, and to Virtue Knowledge, and to Knowledge Temperance, and to Temperance Godlineſs, and to Godlineſs Brotherly Kindneſs, and to Brotherly Kindneſs Charity. Dear Brethren, we cannot but be deeply affected and afflicted in our own Spirits, to conſider of your Diſſatisfaction with us upon miſtaken Grounds. You have known us this many Years to be your faithful Brethren, that durſt do nothing that is ſinful. And we may affirm with Plainneſs, Honeſty, and Simplicity of Heart, we have done nothing in the late Revolution, but that which the Providence of the moſt wiſe God prepared to our Hands, and led us unto; without ſo much as one half-hours

time, to design or resolve to take that Course we were necessitated unto: since which most of such Persons that were not clear in the present and sudden Action, have made their Acknowledgment of their full Satisfaction, and we are mutually reconciled, and they are received and tendred by us as affectionate Brethren. And for a more full Narrative of the providential Grounds, and gradual Steps that led us to that Work, yet (with aking Hearts) and as an Answer to your Queries, signed in your Name by *William Clarke*, Secretary, bearing Date the 22*d* instant, we refer you to a Book, intituled, *The Army's Plea*, and also the Army's *Declaration*, relation whereunto being had, we hope will give you Satisfaction. Loving Brethren, what have we done, that you are offended? We are not conscious that any thing is acted by us upon the publick Theater, but that which we judge is acceptable to God: And what we have done hath proceeded from Uprightness of Heart, and for the Glory of God, the Good of his Interest, Cause, and People in these Nations. Nothing less than these worthy Ends could have caused us to adventure our All that is dear to us, for your and their sakes. And after such a Hazard, for our Brethren to look shy upon us, yea such with whom we have lived and conversed together, prayed, fought, and jeoparded our Lives together, and Witnesses together of the Glory of the Most High God in the high Places of the Field; yea, we that are of one Society, of one Family and Houshold, that none hitherto (thro' the Grace of God could disunite us) now to be at a distance with us, is the greatest Wound to us, which is inexpressible. If it had been from our Enemies, we could have born it. Oh but, they are the Wounds of the House of our Friends! And

all

all this ariſing without dealing Brotherly with us, and without ſo much as ſending to know the Providential Grounds that led us to theſe Undertakings. And likewiſe your and our Unhappineſs hath been poſſibly by Miſinformations received by thoſe who have correſponded with the principal Occaſioners of this Breach. However we are cenſured by you, we ſhall, we hope, carry Chriſtianly and Brotherly towards you, and exerciſe our ſelves in the Doctrine of our Saviour, *If any be overtaken in a Fault, reſtore ſuch a one in the Spirit of Meekneſs; knowing alſo, we are ſubject to like Temptations.* And we ought to pity and pray for one another, and forgive one another, even as God for *Chriſt*'s ſake hath forgiven us. We hope the Fear of God will guide you, ſo that you may do nothing to grieve Him and his little Flock, and rejoice the common Enemy abroad and at home, nor give them Advantages to make a Prey of theſe poor Nations. What can you propound to your ſelves? If you are for good things, ſo are we; if for a *Free State* and *Commonwealth*, ſo are we; if againſt a ſingle Perſon, ſo are we; if for Reformation, ſo are we; if for Godlineſs, and the Nations to be exalted in Righteouſneſs, ſo are we. Why do we differ in the Form and Way to it? Oh, dear Friends, if you ſhould precipitately engage into a War, and ſhould conquer your Brethren, would not the Conſequence be a Conqueſt over your ſelves, and all the good People of the Land? And if they are gone, certainly (if you retain your old Principles) you would not deſire to live long after them. Precious Brethren, we commend unto you that Place of Scripture, *Joſh.* 1. 14, 15. We ſhall with our bended Knees implore the God of Heaven, and King of Saints, to guide you and perſuade you, as

holy *Noah* did in another Caſe, *Gen.* 9. 27. God ſhall perſuade *Japhet* to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. Finally, Brethren, farewel, be of good Comfort, let us be of one Mind, live in Peace, and the God of Love and Peace ſhall be with you and us. We remain

Your moſt Affectionate Brethren,
and Fellow-Soldiers,

Dear Friends, we hope to hear in your Anſwer to this, that all our dear Friends now in Bonds are at Liberty, and that the Lord hath ſatisfied your Hearts to acquieſce in his preſent Diſpenſations, ſo as we may not expoſe each other to further Inconveniency.

IX.

A Return of the General and Officers in Scotland, *to the aforeſaid Letter of the Officers at* Whitehall.

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Soldiers in the Lord,

IN the Name of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* we return you our moſt hearty Wiſhes and Prayers, that Grace, and Truth, and Peace alſo might be multiplied unto you: And that to your Faith, and your Virtue, and your Knowledge, and your Temperance, and your Godlineſs, and your Brotherly Kindneſs, and your Charity, might be added Patience, and Meekneſs, and Humility, and Self-denial. Great are the Thoughts of our Hearts for the Diviſions in *Reuben*, and we are (as you expreſs it)

it) deeply affected and afflicted in our own Spirits, when we conſider what Cauſe we have to be diſſatisfied with you, our dear Brethren: You, with whom we have lived and converſed together; with whom we have prayed, and fought, and jeoparded our Lives together; with whom we have taken ſweet Counſel, and walked together in the Houſe of God as Friends. But we cannot conceal from you, that our Affection and Affliction of Spirit is much increaſed by the Letter you ſent us by Captain *Deane*, and by the Books you referred us to in that Letter. We had before ſome ſmall (indeed our only) Hopes, that there might be ſome Miſtake between us: but alas! we cannot but now think (ſince we find you have no more to ſay for your ſelves) that our Fears were but too true, and the Cauſes of our Diſſatisfaction at your preſent Actings but too juſt. We ſhall deal with you with that Plainneſs, and Freedom, and Sincerity that becometh Brethren; for ſo we think it becometh us to fulfil all Righteouſneſs. And ſo we think it expedient both for you and us, that we may the ſooner come to a right Underſtanding one of another. We could not be ſatisfied, that there was any ſuch Need of more General Officers (the firſt Occaſion of this unhappy Difference) as that the Parliament ſhould be preſſed to it ſo unreaſonably, and ſo juſt a Jealouſy created in them, that there was a Deſign to ſet up a *ſingle Perſon* (of which they had but ſo late and ſo ſad Experience) and we could not but think it ſufficient for the Security of the good Intereſt, that the Army was united under one Head, the Parliament. We were leſs ſatisfied, that, after you declared your Satisfaction and Acquieſcence in the Votes of the Houſe, you ſhould endeavour by a new Way to wreſt the Power

out

out of their own Hands, and to proſecute the ſame Deſign. This making the Army a Corporation in a manner independent from the Civil Power, and creating to it an Intereſt, diſtinct from that of the Peoples, by whom they hitherto have, and ſtill muſt live, and for whom they are by their Engagements and Duties bound to die: and that, after you knew the Parliament had in effect diſapprov'd your Petition, you ſhould ſtill endeavour to get more Hands to it, which neither the Parliament, nor we our ſelves, could look upon any otherwiſe, than as a Deſign to force the Parliament to grant what they had already in effect diſapprov'd, if not to do that which was done, you ſay, at leſs than half an hours warning. But then, after the ſad Experience of ſo many Confuſions and Toſſings, which theſe poor Nations had already felt by ſuch Actings as theſe, after the unhappy (and ſince acknowledged unlawful) former Interruption of that (by your ſelves called) famous long Parliament, after the Confuſions and Diſtractions of that little one of your own, and not of the Peoples chooſing; after the Occaſion by them given to ſome of ſetting up, and the Neceſſity impoſed on us of accepting a ſingle Perſon, contrary to our former Engagements, and to our Intereſts; after our late renewed Engagement, and our ſolemn and ſerious Expreſſions of Repentance, that you ſhould ſo ſoon return to your former Sin, and for the apparent Intereſt of nine or ten Perſons (who how precious ſoever, yet cannot be worth the Blood that may be ſhed in this Quarrel) to put a new Force upon the Parliament, and to deſtroy all lawful Authority in the three Nations, and to put them out of hopes of ever having any for the future, but what ſhall be at your diſpoſals; and to do theſe things in the Name

of

of the whole Army, thereby uſurping a Power over your Brethren, to which you have no Right, and involving us in the ſame Guilt with yours in the ſame actings, againſt which we are bound to proteſt before God and Man. This is that which lieth the ſoreſt upon our own Spirits; this is that which wounds us deepeſt; this is that which muſt of neceſſity make the three Nations Slaves to the Army; the Armies of *Scotland* and *Ireland* Slaves to that of *England*, and that of *England* to Nine or Ten Perſons, and perhaps in ſhort time thoſe Nine or Ten to One ſingle one. The beſt Effect it can have, muſt be, that which you ſo much complain of in the Armies, *pag.* 25. *That all the pious and good People of this Nation ſhall not enjoy a peaceable and quiet Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty, but only ſome part of them.* We cannot but in the Name of the Lord tell you, that theſe Actings make us ſtink in the Noſtrils of the good People, and cauſe the Name of God to be evil ſpoken of, and his Enemies to rejoice. And yet you ſay, Behold, what we have done? and tell us in many, but very general Terms, what good things you are for. We likewiſe are for good things as well as you; we are for a *Free State* and *Commonwealth* as well as you; we are againſt a *Single Perſon* as well as you; we are for Reformation as well as you; we are as well as you for Godlineſs, and the Nations to be exalted in Righteouſneſs: if ſo be that you be indeed for theſe things which you pretend, and that we differ not in the End as well as in the Way to it. But how can you be for good things, as long as you do that which is evil? How can you be for a *Free State* and *Commonwealth*, if, for the Intereſt of Nine or Ten Perſons, you diſſolve Parliaments? To what purpoſe is it to be againſt a *Single Perſon*, if you

be

be for Nine or Ten? or for Reformation, if you return ſo ſoon to former Sins? Or, how can Godlineſs or Righteouſneſs be exalted, by violent and unwarrantable Means? Brethren, our daily Prayer to God is, that we may not be neceſſitated to War with you; but if we be, we muſt tell you, that we do not precipitate our ſelves, or run raſhly or inconſiderately into it. We have had time ſadly and ſeriouſly to conſider on the whole Matter; and we muſt deal plainly with you, and tell you, that what you pretend you had not half an hours time to deliberate about, we have expected from you ſome Weeks. We could not but take notice, that the Occaſion both of calling and interrupting this Parliament, was, the making of General Officers. How little Deſire we have of making a Conqueſt over you, he knows who knows how little Joy we ſhould take in it. If there were not ſomething in the Quarrel that is dearer to us than our Lives, we ſhould never undertake it. And now, Brethren, as yet dear and precious in our Eyes, we beſeech you, for the Mercies of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to lay theſe things to heart; and as we have done with *Joſh.* 1. 14, 15. ſo to reflect ſeriouſly upon *Joſh.* 7. ver. 19. and once more to take ſhame to your ſelves, and to repent with a Repentance not to be repented of. Conſider whoſe Blood is to be ſhed on both ſides; what Cauſe it is that lies at ſtake; who they are that are like to reap the Benefit of our Contentions. Suffer not Self, or Intereſt, nor Deſire of the things of this World, to intangle you again in the ſame Snare, out of which you have ſo lately eſcaped. Lay not up your Treaſure in this World, but ſeek firſt the Kingdom of Heaven. Do not Evil, becauſe you think Good may come of it.

Finally,

Finally, Brethren, ſtand faſt in that Liberty wherein Chriſt hath made you free, and be not entangled again with the Yoke of Bondage. The Grace of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* be with you. *Amen.*

Edinburgh, Your moſt Affectionate and Afflicted Brethren and Fellow-Soldiers.

POSTSCRIPT.

Dear Brethren,

WE intreat you not to put ſo hard a Name upon the neceſſary and ſhort Reſtraint of our Brethren, as Bonds. We ſtill own them and uſe them as Brethren; their Pay is ſtill continued to them, and the Reſtraint put upon them, for their, and your, and our Security, and the Security of all God's People, we hope will be very ſhort, ſhorter than either you or we can expect. And take it not ill, we acted any thing without firſt ſending to you. We acted nothing but what was neceſſary to our preſent Safety, and we immediately ſent our Letters to you, which if they came not to your Hand, it is not our Faults. We have lately ſent Commiſſioners, Men faithful and approved, whom we hope you will intreat as Brethren.

For the Right Honourable the Lord Fleetwood, *and the reſt of the Officers of that Part of the Army at* London.

X.

A Letter to the Lord Fleetwood.

Sir,

WE think fit to acquaint you, that the Lord has ſo proſper'd our Endeavours here, that my Lord General *Monk*, and the Officers have accepted of our Overtures of Mediation, and they have appointed Colonel *Wilkes*, Lieutenant Colonel *Cloberry*, and Major *Knight*, to repair to *London*, Commiſſioners, to treat with the like Number of Officers there, for a firm Peace and Unity amongſt the Forces of both Nations; for which we doubt not but the Prayers of all good Men will be poured forth to the Throne of Grace. We have prevail'd with my Lord General to diſpatch Order this Night to his remoteſt Quarters, that they advance not farther Southwards during this Treaty; and we deſire you will do the like, that none of yours may march more Northward than they are. And truly, for as much as we can perceive none of theſe Forces had ſo haſtily marched out of *Scotland*, if yours had not gathered this Way. In a few Days we ſhall ſee you, and in the mean time deſire you to believe we are,

Dalkeith, *this 4th of* Novemb. 1659.

Sir, your affectionate Servants,

Tho. Clarges, *Tho. Talbot.*

XI.

General Monk's *laſt Letter to his Excellency the Lord* Fleetwood.

My Lord,

AFter I had anſwer'd the Letter your Lordſhip did me the Favour to ſend me by Colonel *Talbot*, I received another from your Lordſhip of the 29th of *October*, wherein your Lordſhip is pleaſed to expreſs much of your Lordſhip's Affection and Friendſhip to me, for which I ſhall ever acknowledge my ſelf engaged to you. But truly I muſt aſſure your Lordſhip, no perſonal Diſcouragements (altho' I have had my Share of them) have induced me to the Juſtification I make of the Parliament's Authority; but the Tie of Duty, to which I am in my Conſcience obliged, and I ſhall be heartily ſorry, if your Lordſhip makes any other Interpretation of it; for your Lordſhip knows my Command has been offer'd often up to thoſe that had Power to place it better. We are all, I bleſs the Lord, very unanimous here; and I am confident, when the Gentlemen we ſend from hence have given your Lordſhip a true Underſtanding of our Actions, you will not have ſo ſevere an Opinion of them as you ſeem to have in your late Letters. The Perſons Names are Col. *Wilks*, Lieut. Col. *Clobery*, and Maj. *Knight*, all well known to your Lordſhip, to whom I beſeech your Lordſhip to give Credit, in what they ſhall propoſe from the Army here; and I beſeech you to believe I am ſtill with a ſincere Heart,

My Lord

Your Lordſhips very humble Servant,

George Monk.

XII.

XII.

A Letter ſent by his Excellency the Lord General Monk, *to the Congregated Churches in and about* London.

Honoured and dear Friends,

I Received yours, and am very ſenſible of your Kindneſs, which you have expreſſed to the Army in *Scotland*, in ſending down ſuch Honourable and Reverend Perſons ſo long and tedious a Journey, whom we have received with Thankfulneſs and great Joy, as your Meſſengers of the Churches, and Miniſters of Chriſt; and have taken Notice of this Office of Love, and of your Care of theſe three Nations. I do promiſe for my Truſt, and the reſt of the Officers here, that your Intereſt, Liberty and Encouragement ſhall be very dear to us; and we ſhall take this as a renewed Obligation to aſſert to the uttermoſt what we have already declared for the Churches of Jeſus Chriſt. I doubt not, but you have received Satisfaction of our Inclination to a peaceable Accommodation, and do hope, that ſome Difficulties being united, we ſhall obtain a fair Compoſure. I do aſſure you, that the great things which have been upon my Heart to ſecure and provide for, are our Liberties and Freedoms, as we are the Subjects and Servants of Jeſus Chriſt, which are convey'd to us in the Covenant of Grace, aſſur'd in the Promiſes, purchaſed for us by the Blood of our Saviour, and given as his great Legacy of his Churches and People; in compariſon of what, we eſteem all other things as Dung and Droſs, but as they have Relation to, and Depen-

 dance

dance upon this moſt noble End. The other are our Laws and Rights as Men, which muſt have their Eſteem in the ſecond Place, and for which many Members of the Churches have been eminent Inſtruments, to labour in Sweat and Blood for theſe eighteen Years laſt paſt, and our Anceſtors many hundred Years before. The Subſtance of which may be reduced to *Parliamentary Government*, and the People conſenting to the Laws by which they are to be Governed; that this Privilege of your Nations, may be ſo bounded, that the Churches may have both Security and Encouragement, is my great Deſire, and of thoſe with me. So that I hope you will own theſe juſt things, and give us that Aſſiſtance which becometh the Churches of Chriſt, in purſuance of this Work. And we do aſſure you, that we ſhall comply as far as poſſible, with reſpect had to your Security, and Safety of theſe Nations, and the Preſervation of our ancient Birth-rights and Liberties; and we ſhall pray that we may be kept from going out of God's Way, under Pretence of doing God's Work. I do, in the Name of the whole Army, and for my ſelf, give you all our affectionate Thanks for this your Work of Love; and though we are not able to make ſuch Returns as are in our Hearts and Deſires to do, yet we ſhall endeavour by all Means and Ways, to expreſs our Care and Love to the Churches, and ſhall leave the Reward to him, who is the God of Peace and Truth, in ſpecial aſſured a Bleſſing to the Peace-makers: And conclude with the Words of *David*, 1 *Sam.* 25. 32. *Bleſſed be the Lord God of* Iſrael, *and bleſſed be your Advice, and bleſſed be you all.* Now the Lord be a Wall of Fire round about you, and let his Preſence be in his Churches, and they filled with his Glory. I have

no more, but to entreat your Prayers for an happy Issue to these unhappy Differences, which is the Prayer of him who is,

Reverend Sirs, and Dear Friends,

Edinburgh, Nov. 23. 1659.

Your very Affectionate Servant,

George Monk.

For my Reverend Friends, Dr. Owen, *Mr.* Hook, *and Mr.* Greenhill; *to be communicated to the Churches in and about* London.

XIII.

The Articles of Agreement between the Commissioners of the English *and* Scottish *Armies.*

1. THAT we will, to the uttermost of our Powers, in our several Capacities, oppose the Interest and pretended Right of *Charles Stewart*, in and to the Government of these Nations, as also of all and every Person claiming a Right or Title to the said Government, or any Share therein; together with, under, or from him, or any other Person or Persons pleading or pretending such a Right or Title, by Virtue of his or their Descent from the same Line with him. 2. That we will not give our Consent unto, but will oppose to our utmost Power, the setting up of any *single Person* what-

whatſoever, in the Place of, and for the Chief Magiſtrate of theſe Nations; and will endeavour to our utmoſt, that the Government of theſe Nations may be ſettled in the way of a *Free State*, or *Commonwealth*, without a *ſingle Perſon*, *Kingſhip*, or *Houſe of Lords*. 3. That no Form of Government ſhall be determined of, and aſſerted by, any Part of the Army, as the Supreme Legiſlative Authority of this *Commonwealth*, and the Territories thereunto belonging, without the Approbation and Conſent of a General Council of the Officers of the Army and Navy of this *Commonwealth*, which General Council ſhall conſiſt of two Commiſſion-Officers for each reſpective Regiment, choſen by the Commiſſion-Officers of the ſaid Regiment, or by the major Part of them, who can conveniently meet together, and likewiſe ſuch Governors of Garriſons as are not Regimented, and can conveniently be ſpared, may be called to the ſaid Council; and Ten of the Fleet choſen by a Council of the Officers of the Fleet, and that the *Quorum* ſhall be Thirty one, and the Day of their Meeting to be the ſixth of *December* next, at *Whitehall*, in the old Council-Room. 4. That a Parliament, or a Supreme Delegated Authority of this *Commonwealth*, be with all poſſible Speed conſtituted and ſummoned in ſuch manner and Form as ſhall be by the aforeſaid General Council agreed unto; and the Qualifications of the Members thereof, to be agreed on by the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Warriſton*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lord *Whitlock*, Sir *James Harlington*, Major *Salway*, Colonel *George Thompſon*, Colonel *Berry*, and Mr. *Scott*; together with the Lord *Steel*, Colonel *Barrow*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Dobſon*; as Commiſſioners for the Army in *Ireland*, and three Commiſſio-

miſſioners for the Army in *England*, to be appointed thereunto, with the three Commiſſioners for the Army of *Scotland*, whereof the *Quorum* to be Nine. 5. That the Proportion of Money out of the Aſſeſſments of *England*, formerly appointed for the Supply of the Forces of *Scotland*, be duly paid, and no farther Stop upon the ſame; but that it may be returned by Bills of Exchange, or otherwiſe, with all convenient Speed, and any former Order and Orders to be made void. 6. That the Caſe of the Officers of the Army of *England*, and *Scotland*, that are ſuſpended or diſplaced, or that have laid down their Commiſſions ſince the Eleventh of *October* laſt, only by reaſon of the precedent Differences, be determined by Fourteen Commiſſioners of the Army in *England* and *Scotland*, or the major Part of them; the one half of the ſaid Commiſſioners to be choſen by the Council of Officers in *England*, and the other half of the Council of Officers in *Scotland*, and that forthwith the ſaid Officers be diſcharged from their Impriſonments or Confinements. The Day of Meeting of the ſaid Commiſſioners to be the Firſt Day of *December* next, and the Place of their Meeting to be at *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*. 7. That no Officer, or Soldier, or other Perſon of theſe Nations, that have acted in the late Differences betwixt the late Parliament and the Army, or between any of the Forces of this *Commonwealth*, for or againſt each other, relating to any Difference, ſince the Tenth of *October* laſt, be queſtion'd for the ſame, but fully indemnified, and all Unkindneſs to be put in perpetual Oblivion. 8. That a Godly, Learned, and Faithful Miniſtry, with competent Maintenance, and other Incouragement, be continued in the three Nations; and that the Univerſities and

Schools of Learning be ſo countenanc'd and reformed, as that they may become the Nurſeries of Piety and Learning. 9. That the Forces of Horſe and Foot reſpectively, both of *England* and *Scotland*, that have been drawn forth by reaſon of the late Difference, ſhall forthwith march to ſuch Quarters in both Nations where they may beſt ſecure and preſerve the Peace of the *Commonwealth* againſt the Enemies thereof; and that there be no further Difference or Appearance of Difference amongſt us.

We the Commiſſioners hereunto appointed and authoriſed by General *Monk*, and the General Council of Officers in *Scotland*, do this fifteenth of *November*, 1659. in the Name, and on the behalf of the ſaid General *Monk*, and General Council of Officers in *Scotland*, fully conſent and agree to the afore-mention'd Agreement, and every Part thereof; and do engage our ſelves and every of us to the full Performance of the ſame.

Preſent as Witneſſes, Signed,

R. Barrow, R. Brown, Edw. Swift. *Tim. Wilkes, R. Knight, Jo. Clocberry.*

Signed as the Agreement of the General Council of Officers of the Army met at *Wallingford*-Houſe, the fifteenth of *November*, 1659. And I do for my ſelf, and in the Name of the ſaid General Council, conſent to the afore-mention'd Agreement, and every Part thereof, and do engage to the full Performance of the ſame.

Witneſſes, Signed,

R. Barrow, Edw. Swift, Bry. Leavens, R. Brown. *Ch. Fleetwood.*

XIV.

A Letter ſent by General Monk *to Vice-Admiral* Goodſon, *to be communicated to the reſt of the Officers of the Fleet, in Anſwer to a Letter with ſome Propoſals lately ſent to him from them.*

Dear Country-men and Commanders,

I AM glad that you have not forgotten your old Friend, and that by this Occaſion I have ſuch Advantage to hear of your hearty Affections to me, and kind Remembrance of me; and that you have ſuch a deep Senſe of the Diviſions amongſt us, and the miſerable Conſequence thereof. But I am very much ſadded, that you have entertained ſuch Miſtakes and Miſapprehenſions of our Proceedings. Theſe encloſed Papers will fully ſatisfy you that we have juſt Grounds of Diſſatisfaction, and that we cannot comply with ſuch violent and unwarrantable Undertakings, both againſt our Reaſon as Men, and againſt our Conſciences as Chriſtians, *that you and we ſhould take our Commiſſions and Pay from the Parliament, and yet to violate their Authority*, after ſuch ſolemn Aſſurances of Obedience and Faithfulneſs, contrary to the expreſs Word of God, and our own late Addreſſes. I hope I am ſo well known to ſome of you, that I am none of thoſe that ſeek great things to my ſelf, or delight in the ſhedding the Blood of *Engliſhmen*, much leſs of Chriſtian Brethren; but to preſerve the Name of God from Blaſphemy and Reproach, which our Actings (I wiſh I could not call them Treacherouſneſs and Perfidiouſneſs) have occaſion'd; whereby Jeſus Chriſt, and his Truth, have been evil ſpoken of,

which

which makes our very Lives bitter to us: And to assert the Integrity and Honour of this Army, which is very dear to me, I have been forced, with the Parliament's Army under my Command, (though with much Grief of Heart) to bear our Testimony against the late Violence of the Army; and the Reasons thereof you will find in our printed Papers, and our Endeavours to perswade them in *England* to remove that Force which they have put upon the Parliament. As to your Proposals, I beseech you seriously to consider and lay to Heart these following Answers. 1. To the first, you are pleased to intimate the joy of the *Cavaliers*, that they see us stand to our *Declaration*; but I believe that this violent Interruption of the Parliament was the greatest Courtesy to gratify that *Family* and *Interest*, that could be imagined in the World, (and I could wish it were not design'd). I should be very sad to strengthen the Hands of the Wicked, but let me assure you, this ariseth from the Slanders and Calumnies which Men cast upon us in *England*, as if we that assert the Authority of those that brought the late King to the Block, are for introducing that Family, which I take God to witness, we, in our very Thoughts, abhor, and shall spend our Blood in Opposition to any *single Person* whatsoever. 2. You are pleased to compare our present Differences to that of the *Israelites*, (with the two Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half the Tribe of *Manasses*) and I earnestly pray that there may be the same Issue; for if they will restore these Persons to their Lawful Authority, which have been establish'd by many Successes, and for the Difference of which they so lately hazarded to Blood, we shall quietly sit down,

and wait upon the Providences of God in our Places and Stations, and to this End we have ſent Commiſſioners into *England*, Men faithful and approved. What you are pleaſed to inſtance concerning my Satisfaction in the Year 1653, when this Parliament was interrupted formerly, I ſhall anſwer you to that, It was never in my Conſcience to go out of God's Way, under the Pretence of doing God's Work; and you know the Variety of Times doth much vary the Nature of Affairs, and what might then patiently be ſubmitted unto, we being engaged with a Foreign Enemy, in a bloody War, cannot be drawn into a Precedent at this time, after our Repentance and Aſſurance of Loyalty and Conſtancy. You may be pleaſed to remember, that the Conſequence of the former Interruptions was the Introduction of a *ſingle Perſon*, and a manifeſt Breach of all our Promiſes and Engagements; ſo that if God bleſſed me with Succeſs then, I do much (through Mercy) expect it now, when I put all to Hazard for the Glory of God, and the Good of his People. 3. I do acknowledge that the Army hath been in the Hand of God an Inſtrument of Good to theſe Nations; yet if they ſhall apoſtate from the Cauſe of God and his People, in expoſing them to Arbitrary Power, and the Wills of Men, in taking upon them to aboliſh Laws, raiſe Money without Conſent of the People, deſtroy Miniſtry, and Property, and force Parliaments, I cannot but witneſs againſt ſuch Proceedings as unwarrantable, not ſuited to any Rule either from God or Man. 4. I have taken Care by Garriſons in this Country, and Aſſurance from the whole Body of the Nation, that they will not own the Intereſt of *Charles Stewart*, and that they will preſerve the Peace of the *Commonwealth*, in

Obedience

Obedience to the Parliament; ſo that if that Part of the Army in *England* will ſet up a diſtinct Intereſt in the Nation, in deſerting that Cauſe that hath been ſo precious to us, and coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure for to eſtabliſh their own Intereſt and Greatneſs, I do declare, in the Preſence of the Great God, I cannot own you, nor join with them. Now, having open'd my Heart to you, and as you know my Plainneſs and Sincerity, that I am none of thoſe that dare aſſert any thing againſt my Conſcience, from that Experience ye have had of me, I heartily beg your Belief and Credit, that I ſhall keep in the Way of Duty, and endeavour to do the Lord's Work in my Generation, and ſhall not own any corrupt Intereſt whatſoever: And do deſire of God his Bleſſing, according to my Integrity in this Undertaking. Having this good Teſtimony in my own Spirit, that I have nothing but publick and righteous Ends upon my Heart, and by all theſe Reſpects and Kindneſſes that I have received from you, I deſire you will join with us in your Deſires that this Parliament may be reſtored to the Execution of their Duties and Truſt with Freedom and Honour. I have no more, but my hearty Love and Service to you all, deſiring God to bleſs you all, and make you happy Inſtruments for the Good of theſe Nations in your ſeveral Places, which ſhall be always the Prayer of,

Dear Friends,

Your humble Servant and Fellow-Soldier,

George Monk.

To the Right Honourable Vice-Admiral Goodſon, *to be communicated to the reſt of the Officers of the Fleet; in Anſwer to the Letter that was ſent to me from them.*

A

XV.

A Letter sent from General Monk, *superscribed, To the Right Honourable* William Lenthall *Esq; Speaker to the Right Honourable the Parliament of* England: *To be communicated to the rest of the Members of Parliament at* London.

Right Honourable,

I Received yours of the 22d Instant, and desire to return our good God hearty Thanks, that he hath been pleased to own and appear for his People in such glorious Instances of Mercy and Deliverance. I bless the Lord I never doubted of his Presence and Success in this Undertaking, being so righteous a Cause; and had long since put it to God's Determination; but upon Advertisements from Friends in *England*, that if I could continue here without engaging till the first of *January*, the Work would be done without Blood. I cannot but admire upon what Intelligence you should be perswaded of a second Treaty. Indeed I was inforced to make Use of such an Overture, to remove the Commissioners from *London*, whom I cannot but blame for receeding from their Instructions; but I hope they will give you a satisfactory Account of their Proceedings. Yet I acknowledge that I could not but resent their Carriage, having secured one of them for betraying their private Instructions: of which I doubt not but you have been fully informed. My last Answer to the Lord *Lambert*, who sent several Messengers to invite me to a second Treaty, was, That I could not treat without

without Authority from the Commissioners for the Government of the Army, and to that end desir'd a Pass for the same Messenger to go to *Portsmouth* to receive their Commands and Instructions; who was returned back with this Answer from *Lambert* and the Council of Officers, that they could not consent thereunto; and since that, I have not heard from them. I have your Army (I bless God) upon the River *Tweed*, within three Hours ready to be drawn together, and they are very chearful and unanimous, willing to endure any Hardship for your Service. The last Night Capt. *Campbel* came expres from *Ireland*, giving a full Account of their Affections to the Parliament, and of the late Transactions there; that they had seized *Dublin* Castle, and secured *Jones* and others, with a *Declaration* to stand by and own your Authority: for which (on this instant) we kept a Day of Thanksgiving. They write also to the *Irish* Bregade in *England*, which I dispatch'd to them. Sir *Hardress Waller* gives me an Account, that all the Forces and Garrisons in *Ireland* had declared for you. This is such a Mercy, that I hope the Lord will make us sensible of and careful to improve. They requir'd my Opinion as to managing of the Affairs of the Army, which in such an urgent Necessity I presumed to give. I have disposed of most of the vacant Commands in *Scotland* to very honest Men, who are ready to dye for your Service, or to disband at your Command; and before your Letter came to hand I had disposed of Colonel *Saunders* and Major *Barton*'s Commands, the Lord *Lambert*'s Forces pressing upon me, I could not leave my vacant Places unsupplied. But I know that (this Work prospering) you will have Opportunity enough to gratify them. Capt. *Read*'s Place is reserved

ſerved for him, according to your Pleaſure. I humbly thank the Members of the *Council* for that great Honour that they were pleaſed to confer upon me, and hope you never ſhall find but ſuch an abſolute Obedience from me to your Commands, that I ſhall be more ready to return that Commiſſion than to receive it. I believe that you never doubted of my perſevering in thoſe good Principles I declared for, and that I ſhould comfortably (if the Lord had pleaſed to frown upon us) have ſuffer'd in this moſt righteous Undertaking. I have made ready to march, but am unwilling to hazard your Juſtice and Authority upon a Fight, when it may be done with more Security. I ſhall attend your further Command, and deſire the Lord to bleſs your Forces and Counſels, and to reſtore you in your juſt Authority, which is both the Prayer and Endeavour of,

Sir,

Caldſtream, 29 Dec. 1659. your moſt humble and faithful Servant,

George Monk.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Thought fit to acquaint you, that my Lord *Warreſton* hath endeavoured to ſtir up the People of this Nation, as much as he could, againſt your Intereſt. Colonel *Lyſcot* having been very faithful and active for the *Parliament* in this Undertaking, I entreat your Lordſhips to be mindful for him for a Regiment of Horſe. I have given him the Command of a Foot-Regiment, but he was always of the Horſe, and is a very honeſt and ſtout Gentleman,

man, and fit to command a Regiment of Horſe. I have ſent your Lordſhips the Copies of my laſt Letters, and of the Officers of *Newcaſtle*; and alſo to the Commiſſioners of Parliament at *Portſmouth*, that you may be acquainted with our Tranſactions. Major *Knight* has Col. *Saunders*'s Regiment, and Capt. *Prime* is Major. I entreat you to communicate this to the reſt of the worthy Members of *Parliament* with you.

George Monk.

XVI.

The Letter of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, *to his Excellency, the Lord General* MONK.

Right Honourable,

WE dare not enter upon the Anſwer to the Merits of your Excellency's Letter of the 12*th* of *November*, which came to our Hands the 23*d* of the ſame (which was the firſt and only that came to us) without prefacing our hearty and thankful admiring and acknowledging the tranſcendent Mercy of God, in putting into your Heart thoſe pious and noble Reſolutions, to appear at ſuch an Exigent to be the glorious Inſtrument in his Hand, both to aſſert and vindicate the greateſt Intereſt, both Civil and Religious, of theſe Nations: And next, that your ſingular Humility of Spirit, and Affection to this City, in communicating to us ſo early, thoſe your juſt Reſolves, and inviting us to ſhare in the Honour of aſſiſting, to the obtaining of thoſe great and glorious Ends, in

which

which the Happineſs of theſe Nations in general, and of the City, as a Corporation, conſiſts. In all which our Spirits were both enlightned and warmed by a Spark from your Zeal, and actuated by God to a preſent Activity in our Sphere and Capacity, in compliance with your Excellency's Advice, as we truſt, the whole World that hath ſeen our Actings, ſince the Receipt of your Letter, can bear us witneſs, and that we hope may be our ſufficient Plea for Pardon, for our not returning a more timely Anſwer to your Excellency's ſaid Letter. But we deſire your Excellency to believe, that was principally retarded by Suſpicion caſt on the Authentickneſs of it, by thoſe who had the Confidence on that ſcore to impriſon the Deliverers, and by the Interpoſition of the Forces here, and led out againſt your Excellency, who lay in the Paſſage to you. But now (may it pleaſe your Excellency) ſeeing it hath pleaſed God in ſome meaſure to remove thoſe Obſtructions, we preſume by this to aſſert in Writing, what we hope all our Actings, ſince the Receipt of your Excellency's Advice, have evidenced; That we have cordially concurred with your Excellency, in diſowning the Author of that Force who interrupted the Parliament, and raviſh'd the Birthright of theſe Nations, by daring to null and make void Acts of Parliament; and we think, we have contributed ſomewhat, by God's Bleſſing on our Counſels and Actings, to the preventing of the ſad Conſequences of that exorbitant Preſumption. How fully and entirely we comply with your Excellency in aſſerting the Authority and Freedom of Parliaments, and the juſt Rights and Liberties of the People, a National Miniſtry, for the enlightening of the Ignorant, and ſuppreſſing of Atheiſm, we humbly refer your Excellency

to

in our inclosed *Declaration*, and do assure your Excellency, that we shall (by God's Assistance) persist faithfully and vigorously in this Good Cause. And praying God to preserve your Excellency, and those noble Commanders with you, in these your just, honourable, and Christian Undertakings, shall remain

Your Excellency's most Affectionate and Faithful Friends and Servants,

Guildhall, London, Dec. 29. 1659.

The *Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and *Commons* of the City of *London*, in *Common Council* Assembled, in their Names, and by their Order,

Sadler.

This Letter is conveyed by the Sword-bearer of London, *by the several Directions of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Court of Common-Council.*

XVII.

The Letter of his Excellency, the Lord General MONK, *in answer to the former Letter.*

My Lord,

I Received a Letter from your Lordship, and the rest of the *Common-Council*, of the 29*th* of *December*, and do humbly thank you for that great Esteem which you are pleased to put upon our poor Endeavours of the Parliament's Army under my Command, far transcending our Merits and Services.

ces. As to those Ends which we then declared for, I bless the Lord, I acted Conscience, and I hope we were found in the way of Duty, and are resolved by the Grace of God to adhere to them, having found such wonderful Blessings following us in these our just and honest Undertakings. As your prudent Counsels and couragious Actings were the great Means, under God, of restoring this *Parliament* to its just and lawful Authority; so of the Safety and Welfare of the Nations, for which I do, for my self and the rest of the Officers here, return my very hearty Thanks; and we shall have ever Cause to bless the Lord for his great Mercy, in putting into your Hearts such righteous and honourable Resolutions to appear at such a time, when our Liberties and Properties, and all that is dear unto us, even the Ordinances of our Blessed Saviour, were in such hazard. Indeed it was much in our hopes, that such a glorious City, that had redeemed themselves from Slavery at the Price of so much Blood and Treasure, and had been the great Instruments in the Hand of God, for the carrying on the *Work of Reformation*, and bringing three Nations out of the Captivity of Tyranny and Arbitrary Government, could never consent to such illegal and unjust Proceedings. As we do acknowledge your great Activity in promoting those great Ends which we lately represented to you, so we do heartily thank you for the Honour and Encouragement, which you have been pleased in this your Letter to give to the Parliament's Army here. For our selves, we having nothing to seek (we bless the Lord) in all this Affair, but to endeavour the Safety and Settlement of these Nations in general, and of the famous City in particular. We received your enclosed *Declaration*, and do chearfully join

with

with you therein. And I promiſe you for the Army under my Command, that they are reſolved (by the Aſſiſtance of God) to ſtand by and maintain this preſent Parliament, as it ſate on *October* 11. from whom we received our Commiſſions; and do hope, that you that have been ſo eminently inſtrumental in their reſtoring, will heartily concur with us therein; and ſhall to the utmoſt of our Power defend the Freedom of ſucceſſive *Parliaments*, and the Liberties Spiritual and Civil of the People in theſe Nations, and ſhall encourage in our Stations the Godly and Learned Miniſters, and ſhall continue faithful in this *Good Cauſe*, that the Nations may be ſtabliſhed in a *Free Commonwealth*, and the Army kept in due Obedience to the Civil Authority. And as we have experienced the great Affection of your City in ſuch a Day of Darkneſs and great Trial, ſo we ſhall ever ſtudy to the utmoſt to expreſs our Services for you, and ſhall not think our Lives too precious to hazard for your Welfare. I think to wait upon you ſhortly, and ſhall reſerve thoſe further Acknowledgments to that Opportunity, and remain

Newcaſtle, Jan. 6. 1659. Your Lordſhip's very humble Servant,

George Monk.

XVIII.

A Letter of General George Monk, *dated at* Leiceſter, 23 January, *and directed unto Mr.* Rolle, *to be communicated unto the reſt of the Gentry of* Devon. *occaſioned by a late Letter from the Gentry of* Devon. *dated at* Exeter 14 January, *and ſent by Mr.* Bampfield *to the Speaker, to be communicated unto the Parliament; read in Parliament,* January, 26.

Moſt Honoured and Dear Friends,

MEeting with a Paper dated at *Exon.* the 13th inſtant, directed to *William Lenthall*, Eſq; Speaker of the Parliament, and ſubſcribed by divers of my Friends and Relations, purporting the recalling the Members ſecluded 1648. as the beſt Expedient for eſtabliſhing theſe Nations upon a Foundation of laſting Peace: I have taken the Boldneſs from my Relation to ſome of you as allied, and my affectionate Reſpects to all of you as dear Friends and Countrymen, to repreſent to your Conſideration my preſent Apprehenſions of the State of Affairs here, in order to all our better Satisfactions, wherein I humbly crave your Leave of Freedom without Prejudice. Before theſe unhappy Wars, the Government of theſe Nations was *Monarchical* in Church and State. Theſe Wars have given Birth and Growth to ſeveral Intereſts both in Church and State, heretofore not known, tho' now upon many accounts very conſiderable; as the Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptiſt, and Sectaries of all ſorts, as to Eccleſiaſticks; and the Purchaſers of the King's, Queen's, Princes, Biſhops, Deans,

Deans, and Chapters, and all other forfeited Eſtates; and all thoſe engaged in theſe Wars againſt the King, as to Civils. Theſe Intereſts again are ſo interwoven by Purchaſers and Intermarriages, and thereby forfeited, as I think upon rational Grounds it may be taken for granted, that no Government can be either good, peaceful, or laſting to theſe Nations, that doth not rationally include and comprehend the Security and Preſervation of all the foreſaid Intereſts both Civil and Spiritual: I mean ſo far as by the Word of God they are warranted to be protected and preſerved. If this be ſo, then that Government under which we formerly were both in State and Church, *viz. Monarchy*, cannot poſſibly be admitted for the future In theſe Nations, becauſe its Support is taken away; and becauſe it's excluſive of all the former Intereſts both Civil and Spiritual, all of them being incompatible with *Monarchical Uniformity* in Church and State thus expired. That Government then that is moſt able to comprehend and protect all Intereſts as aforeſaid, muſt needs be *Republick*. Wherefore to me it's no ſmall doubt, if, upon the Premiſes, to admit of the *Members ſecluded* 1648. were not to obſtruct our Peace and continue our War, rather than eſtabliſh the one, and end the other; in that very many of thoſe Members aſſert the *Monarchical Intereſt*, together with the Abolition of all Laws made ſince their Secluſion: Which I fear upon account of Self-preſervation both of Life and Eſtate, as well as ſpiritual Liberty, will immediately involve all theſe Nations in moſt horrid and bloody War afreſh, the very Apprehenſions whereof, I confeſs, I do infinitely dread, and ſubmit the dangerous Conſequence thereof to your prudent Conſiderations; and the rather, ſeeing the Army

alſo will never endure it. Having thus briefly laid before you the preſent Condition of Affairs, let me now intreat you to conſider, whether it were not better to deſiſt from that *Paper*, and ſubmit to the Proceedings of this *Parliament*, who have reſolved to fill up their Houſe, determine their Sitting, and prepare a Way for future Succeſſions of *Parliament*; by which means being full, and thereby comprehending the whole Intereſt of theſe Nations, they may through God's Mercy, and all our Patiences, eſtabliſh ſuch a Government in the way of a *Commonwealth*, as may be comprehenſive of all Intereſts both Spiritual and Civil, to the Glory of God, and the Weal and Peace of the whole. But if by your Impatiences they be obſtructed, our Peace will be ſo much the longer a Stranger to us, and we thereby a Prey to our ſelves, and all foreign Enemies. Wherefore humbly preſſing theſe upon your ſerious Conſiderations, with all the friendly and affectionate Reſpects and Service to you all, I remain,

Leiceſter, 21 Jan. 1659. *Deareſt Friends*,

Your very humble and affectionate Servant,

George Monk.

For the Honoured Robert Rolles, *Eſq; to be communicated to the Gentlemen of* Devonſhire, *who ſigned the late Letter to the Speaker of the Parliament of the* Commonwealth of England.

XIX. The

XIX.

The General's Letter to the House of Commons from St. Albans.

Right Honourable,

I Have lately acquainted the Council of State with what Forces I have sent into *Scotland*, and more are necessary to be sent thither, to reinforce them, and secure the Peace of that Country, which I presume they have been pleased to report to you. I am now marched, in obedience to your Commands, thus far on my way towards *London*, with four Regiments of Foot and two Regiments of Horse; each Regiment of Foot containing a thousand, and each Regiment of Horse six hundred: So that, by a List which I have sent to me from the Quarter-Master-General of the Horse and Foot in *London*, I have disposed of these Regiments, which march with me. And I humbly offer, that all those now in *London*, except Col. *Fagg*'s Regiment and Col. *Morley*'s, may be sent to the several Quarters by me assigned; for, with submission, I conceive it not for your Service, that those Soldiers now in *London*, lately in Rebellion against you, should mingle with these your approved faithful Regiments, till the present Officers by you put upon them have by Discipline reduc'd them to a more assured Obedience to you. The three Regiments of Horse with me, are as many in Number as those now in *London*; and my four Regiments of Foot near as full as the six I remove: so that your Numbers are not lessened. In this Letter I send two Lists; in one of them the Quarters are set down for these Regiments which march with me into *Lon-*

don; and in the other, the ſeveral Quarters of thoſe to march out: Which I did not appoint, but upon much Conſideration of the preſent Poſture of your Affairs, and Intelligence of the diſtemper'd Condition of the Places to which I aſſign them. I have ſent ....., a faithful Servant of yours, to receive your Commands in this Buſineſs; becauſe on ... your Forces under me will be drawn to *Barnet*; and if on that Day thoſe in *London* march out, we may ſupply their Places. But I humbly deſire your Pleaſure may be ſo early communicated to us, that I may ſend the Quarter-maſters to make Proviſion for the Men: Which is all at preſent from, *&c.*

XX.

The Speaker's Speech of Thanks to the General on his firſt Appearance in the Houſe.

IT hath been a common Obſervation, that the lighter Paſſions have a loud Voice, but ſuch as are of greater Magnitude are always ſilent. As it is in Paſſions, ſo in Actions alſo; thoſe of a leſſer Dimenſion are often magnified above their Meaſure, but Hiſtorians do commonly fail in the Expreſſions of Noble and Great Actions, and ſuch are frequently leſſened; and ſo it may well be in thoſe of this Day's Remembrance. The infallible Author tells us, that *in* Judea *is God known, and his Name is great in* Iſrael. That Knowledge and Greatneſs of God is verified in the Inſtance of Martial Affairs. That *the Stout-hearted are ſpoiled, they have ſlept their Sleep, and none of the Men of Might have found their Hands*; this is verified this Day amongſt

amongſt us here preſent, that both we and you might acknowledge, that it is GOD, not Man, that hath performed this great Work; that we his Creatures here may neither aſcribe it to our Wiſdom, or your Valour: but that it was GOD alone, and none elſe. But yet I have always obſerved, that albeit the Glory appertains to the LORD, yet the Influence of that Glory extends it ſelf to the Inſtruments in his Hand; and thereby thoſe Beams enlighten your Honour and Valour, as an eſpecial Inſtrument; not as a Merit, but as a Reward upon your Prudence and wiſe Conduct. The Knowledge of what hath been done in this our Reſtitution, is not unknown in theſe Nations: I believe, to this Part of the World, how our Friends (as we conceived) left us, and what Defection hath been in Duty and Truſt. The Face of this Land was covered with a gloomy and black Cloud, and the whole Nation left, in the Judgment of Man, to the uttermoſt of Ruin. But in that Condition, we did as the Prophet, in the greateſt Miſery of *Iſrael*, eſpy a little Cloud no broader than a Hand, which is infinitely, in an inſtant, become the Refreſhment of the whole Nation. That little Cloud was diſcerned afar off in your Hand, and by the Prudence of your wiſe Conduct, it diſperſed the Miſeries of theſe Nations, and became a Glorious Mercy to them all. This Houſe hath a true Reſentment of your Prudence and Conduct in this Great Work, and have commanded me to return their hearty Thanks. But I muſt not end here, for they have alſo a full Senſe of thoſe noble Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers, both of their Fidelity, Valour, and Duty, in this Expedition. And as I have returned to you their Thanks, ſo it is their Deſire, that you ſhould return the ſame to

your Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers, who have been inſtrumental in theſe Actions.

XXI.

The Lord General Monk's *Speech delivered by him in the Parliament on Monday* Feb. 6. 1659.

Mr. Speaker,

AMongſt the many Mercies of God to theſe poor Nations, your peaceable Reſtoration is not the leaſt, it is his Work alone, and to him belongs the Glory of it: and I eſteem it as a great Effect of his Goodneſs to me, that he was pleaſed to make me, amongſt many worthier in your Service, ſome way inſtrumental in it. I did nothing but my Duty, and do not deſerve to receive ſo great Honour and Reſpect as you are pleaſed to give me at this Time and Place, which I ſhall ever acknowledge as an high Mark of your Favour to me. Sir, I ſhall not now trouble you with large Narratives, only give me leave to acquaint you, that as I march'd from *Scotland* hither, I obſerved the People in moſt Countries in great and earneſt Expectations of Settlement; and they made ſeveral Applications to me, with numerous Subſcriptions. The chiefeſt Heads of their Deſires, were, for a free and full *Parliament*, and that you would determine your Sitting; a Goſpel-Miniſtry, Encouragement of Learning and Univerſities, and for Admittance of the Members ſecluded before 1648, without any previous Oath or Engagement. To which I commonly anſwered, that you are now in a free *Parliament*;

liament; and if there be any Force remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it: and that you had voted to fill up your Houſe, and then you would be a full *Parliament* alſo, and that you had already determined your Sitting: and for the Miniſtry, their Maintenance, the Laws, and Univerſities, you had largely declared in your laſt Declaration; and I was confident you would adhere to it. But as for thoſe Gentlemen ſecluded in the Year 1648, I told them you had given Judgment in it, and all People ought to acquieſce in that Judgment. But to admit any Members to ſit in *Parliament* without a previous Oath or Engagement to ſecure the Government in being, it was never yet done in *England*. And altho' I ſaid it not then, I muſt ſay with Pardon to you, that the leſs Oaths and Engagements are impoſed (with reſpect had to the Security of the *Common Cauſe*) your Settlement will be the ſooner attained to. I am the more particular in theſe Matters, to let you ſee how grateful your preſent Conſultations about theſe things, will be to the People. I know all the ſober Gentry will heartily cloſe with you, if they may be tenderly and gently uſed; and I am ſure you will ſo uſe them, as knowing it to be our common Concern to expatiate, and not narrow our Intereſt: and to be careful, that neither the *Cavalier* nor *Phanatick* Party have yet a Share in your Civil or Military Power; of the laſt of whoſe Impatience to Government, you have had ſevere Experience. I ſhould ſay ſomething of *Ireland* and *Scotland*. Indeed *Ireland* is in an ill Condition, and made worſe by your ſudden Interruption, which pretended the paſſing an Act for the Settlement of the Eſtates of Adventurers and Soldiers there, which I heard you intended to have done in a few Days. And I preſume

ſume it will be quickly done, being ſo neceſſary a
this time, when the Wants of the *Commonweal*
call for Supplies, and People will unwillingly pa
Taxes for thoſe Eſtates, of which they have n
legal Aſſurance. I need not tell you how muc
your Favour was abuſed in the Nomination of you
Officers of your Army there. Their Malice hat
been ſufficiently manifeſted. I dare affirm, tha
thoſe now, that have declared for you, will conti
nue faithful; and thereby evince, that as wel
there, as here, it is the ſober Intereſt that muſ
eſtabliſh your Dominion. As for *Scotland*, I muſ
ſay, the People of that Nation deſerve much to b
cheriſhed; and I believe your late *Declaration* wil
much glad their Spirits; for nothing was more dread
ful to them, than a Fear to be over-run with *Phana
tick* Notions. I humbly recommend them to you
Affection and Eſteem, and deſire the intended *Act
of Union* may be proſecuted, and their Taxes made
proportionable to thoſe in *England*, for which I am
engaged by Promiſe to be an humble Suitor to you.
And truly, Sir, I muſt ask leave to intreat you to
make a ſpeedy Proviſion for their Civil Govern-
ment, of which they have been deſtitute near a
Year, to the Ruin of many Families: and except
Commiſſioners for Management of the Govern-
ment, and Judges to ſit in Courts of Judicature, be
ſpeedily appointed, that Country will be very
miſerable. I directed Mr. *Gumble* lately to pre-
ſent to you ſome Names, both of Commiſſioners
and Judges: but by reaſon of your great Affairs,
he was not required to deliver them in Writing to
you; but now I humbly preſent them to your
Conſideration.

XXII.

A Letter of his Excellency the Lord General Monk, *to the Speaker of the* Parliament *from* Guild-hall, London.

Right Honourable,

IN Obedience to the Commands received from the *Council* laſt Night, I marched with your Forces into the City this Morning, and have ſecured all the Perſons except two, order'd to be ſecured, which two were not to be found. The Poſts and Chains I have given Order to be taken away, but have hitherto forborn the taking down of the Gates and Portcullises, becauſe it will in all Likelihood exaſperate the City; and I have good Ground of Hopes from them that they will levy the *Aſſeſs*: They deſiring only firſt to meet in Common-Council, which they intend to do to morrow Morning. It ſeems probable to me, that they will yield Obedience to your Commands, and be brought to a friendly Compliance with you; for which Reaſon I have ſuſpended the Execution of your Commands touching the Gates and Portcullises, till I know your further Pleaſure therein, which I deſire I may by this Bearer. I ſhall only deſire, that (ſo your Commands may be anſwer'd with due Obedience) ſuch Tenderneſs may be uſed towards them, as may gain their Affections. They deſired the Reſtauration of thoſe Members of their Common-Council that are ſecured; which Deſires of theirs I ſhall only commend to your grave Conſideration, to do therein as you ſhall think moſt

expe-

expedient: And, in Attendance upon your further Commands, I remain

Guild-Hall, Feb. 9. 1659. Your moſt humble and obedient Servant,

George Monk.

To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, *Eſq; Speaker to the* Parliament *of the* Commonwealth *of* England, *at* Weſtminſter.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Shall become an humble Suitor to you, that you will be pleaſed to haſten your Qualifications, that the Writs may be ſent out. I can aſſure you, it will tend much to the Peace of the Country, and ſatisfy many honeſt Men.

Thurſday, *Afternoon*, Feb. 9.

THis Letter from General *George Monk* from *Guild-hall*, *London*, of the 9th of *February*, 1659, was read.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Parliament,

That the Anſwer to this Letter be, to ſend General *Monk* the Reſolve of the *Parliament*, That the Gates of the City of *London*, and the Portculliſes thereof, be forthwith deſtroyed; and that he be ordered to put the ſaid Vote in Execution accordingly, and that Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Pury* do go to General *Monk* and acquaint him with theſe Votes.

Tho. St. Nicholas, Clerk to the *Parliament*.

Thurſ-

Thursday, Febr. 9. 1659.

Resolved upon the Question by the Parliament, That the Gates of the City of *London*, and the Portcullises thereof, be forthwith destroyed; and that the Commissioners for the Army do take Order that the same be done accordingly.

Tho. St. Nicholas, Clerk to the *Parliament*.

XXIII.

A Letter from his Excellency the Lord General Monk, *and the Officers under his Command, to the* Parliament, *in the Name of themselves and the Soldiers under them. With the* Parliament's *Answer thereunto.*

Mr. Speaker,

WE cannot but with Thankfulness acknowledge the wonderful Goodness of God to you, in your Return to the Discharge of your remaining Truft, and your Forces under our Commands (after some Difficulties) in bringing of us by a tedious March in such Safety to this Place, to wait upon you in asserting the Freedoms of our Native Country; and being here (as we have to our utmost Hazard and Power been instrumental in your Return) so we shall be still ready to pursue your Commands so far as possibly we may; to evidence which, we have observed and executed your late Orders, in relation to the Chains, Posts and Gates of the City, which was something grievous to us, and to the Officers and Soldiers under our Command,

mand, and that becauſe we do not remember any ſuch thing that was acted upon this City in all theſe Wars; and we fear, that many ſober People are much grieved at it, and apprehend farther Force to be offer'd to them, while they ſeem principally to deſire the ſpeedy filling up of the Houſe, which you have declared for, as well as we have expreſſed our juſt Deſires of, and are apt to doubt, leſt what we have done may be ſo far from anſwering the expected End, as that it may encreaſe the Diſcompoſure of Mens Spirits in the Nation. Upon this Occaſion it comes freſh into our Minds, that when by the Treachery of ſome Officers of the Army you were interrupted, we declared to the World, that the Ground of our Undertaking was not only your Return to your Truſt, but alſo the Vindication of the Liberties of the People, and the Preſervation of the Rights of our Country, the Protection and Encouragement of the Godly and Faithful therein, as the Eſtabliſhment of the Peace of theſe Nations; which *Declarations* made before the Lord, Angels and Men, in the Day of our Extremity, we (as we expect the Bleſſing of the Lord upon our future Undertakings) cannot but ſtill own and ſtand by. We find, that the aſſerting of the juſt Liberties of the People is that which the Generality of the Nation is much in Expectation of; and that many ſober People (together with our ſelves) are under Fears, leſt that this great Price that God hath put into your and our Hands (as your Servants) ſhould not be improv'd, but that we ſhall run into Confuſion again. Therefore we humbly crave Leave to preſent before you ſome Grounds of our Fears. We are afraid, that the late wonderful and unparallel'd Deliverance is not ſo publickly and ſolemnly acknowledg'd as it might be; that

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Lord (what wrought so stupendiously) may have the Glory of all. We are troubled that some do sit in the House who are impeached of Treason. We cannot but observe, that divers Members of your House (who, contrary to their Trust, acted in that Illegal and Tyrannical Commission of Army) are not actually disabled from sitting there. Notwithstanding Colonel *Lambert* hath only the Vote of Indemnity to secure him from as High Crimes as have been committed in this Nation, and is not obedient to your Orders, yet he seemingly is connived at. We understand that Sir *Henry Vane*, on bare Pretences, is permitted to stay about this City, to the great Dissatisfaction of your faithful friends; that there are dangerous Consultations held, and that of those who had a chief Hand in your late Interruption, and the hazarding of the whole Nation. Contrary to our Expectation, we find harboured in the Army some Persons of dangerous Principles, and such who were active enough in their late Defection. Though we are far from seeking the Ruin of any, yet we could desire that your Clemency and Indulgence to late notorious Offenders, might meet with that candid Reception from them as to make so much the more ingenuous in their professed Repentance; but we observe that many of them do seek to justify themselves, and are not without their Agents in Print, to palliate their foul Enormities; which maketh us yet to suspect that we are in some Danger of returning into the late Distempers, that you and the Nation are but newly delivered from. We are not ignorant that there are those who lately struck at the Root of Every *Parliament* in Practice and Design, thereby have inflamed the Nation, and given great Advantage to the common Enemy; yet they are not without

a ſtrange Confidence to precipitate Men into a Belief that they are the only Perſons againſt the one and for the other. With Grief of Heart we do remember, and would lament over the too palpable Breach of Engagements in this Nation. Therefore we ſhould think it a Duty rather to mourn over the ſame, than to promote any new *Oath* to be taken at this time. Yet we perceive that there is a Deſign to provoke the *Parliament* to enforce an *Oath* upon the Nation; and to take Notice, that amongſt others there are ſome who are moſt forward to promote the ſaid Deſign, who have made the leaſt (if any) Conſcience, in keeping Engagements already taken. Here we muſt not ſilence our deep Reſentment of a bold *Petition*, and of dangerous Conſequence, which was lately preſented to you, the Conſequence whereof (if you ſhould anſwer their Deſires) would be to exclude many of the moſt conſcientious and ſober ſort of Men from ſerving under you in Civil and Military Imployments, who have and would prove themſelves moſt faithful; and a Door would be opened in Deſign to retrieve the Intereſt of thoſe who have (by the juſt Hand of our gracious God) made themſelves ſo apparently obnoxious. Moreover, (which is not the leaſt Part of the Venom of that *Petition*) we clearly ſee the ſame Spirit which of late would have pull'd away the (by you declared) juſt Maintenance from Miniſters, would now provoke you by an *Oath* to endanger the forcing away of many of the moſt Godly from their Maintenance. In urging our Fears from the Premiſſes that concern ſome of different Principles from us, we would not be thought to (as we do not) deſign any thing that may incur the Cenſure of unjuſt Rigidity. We freely profeſs our Deſires, that Tenderneſs of

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Friday next, (that being the usual and legal Time: For we think it convenient to acquaint you, that to pacify the Minds of this great City, in the Prosecution of your late Command, the chief of us did give an Assurance thereof. And we must not forget to remember you that the Time hastens wherein you have declared your intended Dissolution; which the People and our selves desire you would be punctual in. Hereby the Suspicion of your Perpetuation will be taken away, and the People will have Assurance, that they shall have a Succession of *Parliaments* of their own Election; which is the undoubted Right of the *English* Nation. You have promised and declared no less; both the People and your Armies do live in the Hope and Expectation of it. That we may the better wait for your full and free Concurrence to these just Desires on the Nation's behalf, upon mature Deliberation, we have thought it our Duty, as to continue the usual Guards for the Safety of your sitting; so for the present to draw the rest of the Forces under our Command into the City, that we may have the better Opportunity to compose Spirits, and beget a good Understanding in that great City, formerly renown'd for their resolute Adhering to *Parliamentary Authority*, and we hope that the same Spirit will be found still to breath amongst the best, most considerable, and interessed Persons there. This Action of ours, as we hope it will receive your favourable Interpretation, so we do believe it will (through the Blessing of God) be of good Use for the present Peace, and future Settlement of these Nations. These are our Thoughts, which we communicate to you in the Names of our selves, and the Officers and Soldiers

diers under our Commands. We are

Whitehall, Febr. 11. 1659.

Your Honour's most humble Servants,

George Monk.

Tho. Randers,
Leon. Litcot,
John Clobery,
John Hublethorne, } Colonels.
Tho. Read,
Ra. Knight,
Dan. Redmond,
Ethelbert Morgan, } Lieut. Col.
Nathaniel Barron,
Tho. Johnson,
Jer. Smith,
Tho. Fryer, } Majors.
Fra. Nichols,
Pet. Banister,

Saturday, Feb. 11.

Upon the Reading of this Letter, the House Resolved,

That the Thanks of the House be given unto General *Monk*, for his faithful Service in securing the City; and that as to filling up of the House, the *Parliament* were upon the Qualifications before the Receipt of the said Letter, and the same will be dispatch'd in due Time.

XXIV.

The Speech *and* Declaration *of his Excellency the Lord General* Monk, *delivered at* Whitehall *upon Tuesday,* February 21. 1659.

Gentlemen,

YOU are not, I hope, ignorant what Care and Endeavours have been used, and Means essayed, for healing the Breaches of our Divisions amongst our selves; and that in order thereunto, divers Conferences have been procured between you, tho' to small effect. Yet having at length received fuller Satisfaction from these worthy Gentlemen, that were secluded thence formerly, I was bold to put you all to the trouble of this Meeting, that I might open my self to you all, even with more Freedom than formerly. But lest I might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it befel me, I have committed to Writing the Heads of what I intended to discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly to you all.

The Declaration *of his Excellency the Lord General* Monk, *delivered at* Whitehall *on Tuesday the 21st of* February, 1659.

Gentlemen,

IT appears unto me, by what I have heard from you and the whole Nation, that the Peace and happy Settlement of these bleeding Nations, next under God, lieth in your Hands. And when I consider that Wisdom, Piety, and Self-denial, which

I have reason to be confident, lodgeth in you, and how great a Share of the Nation's Sufferings will fall upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a Settlement, I am in very good hopes there will be found in you all, such melting Bowels towards these poor Nations, and towards one another, that you will become Healers and Makers up of all its woeful Breaches. And that such an Opportunity may clearly appear to be in your Hands, I thought good to assure you, and that in the Presence of God; that I have nothing before my Eyes but God's Glory, and the Settlement of these Nations, upon *Commonwealth Foundations*, in pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear. And for my own particular, I shall throw my self down at your Feet, to be any thing or nothing in order to these great Ends. As to the way of future Settlement, far be it from me to impose any thing, I desire you may be in perfect Freedom. Only give me leave to mind you, that the old Foundations are by God's Providence so broken, that, in the Eye of Reason, they cannot be restored but upon the Ruins of the People of these Nations, that have engaged for their Rights, in defence of the *Parliament*, and the great and main Ends of the *Covenant* for uniting and making the Lord's Name one in the three Nations. And also the Liberty of the Peoples Representatives in Parliament will be certainly lost; for if the People find, that after so long and bloody a War against the *King*, for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again, it will be out of question, and is most manifest, he may for the future govern by his Will, dispose of *Parliaments* and Parliament-men as he pleaseth, and yet the People will never more rise for their Assistance. And as to the Interests of this famous City (which hath been in all Ages

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the Bulwork of *Parliaments*, and unto whom I am for their great Affection ſo deeply engaged) certainly it muſt lie in a *Commonwealth*, that Government only being capable to make them (thro' the Lord's Bleſſing) the Metropolis and Bank of Trade for all Chriſtendom, whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them above all others. And as to a Government in the Church, the want whereof hath been no ſmall Cauſe of theſe Nations Diſtractions; it is moſt manifeſt, that if it be *Monarchical* in the State, the Church muſt follow, and *Prelacy* muſt be brought in, which theſe Nations I know cannot bear, and againſt which they have ſo ſolemnly ſworn. And indeed moderate, not rigid Presbyterian Government, with a ſufficient Liberty for Conſciences truly tender, appears at preſent to be the moſt indifferent and acceptable way to the Churches Settlement. The main thing that ſeems to lie in the way, is, the Intereſt of the Lords, even of thoſe Lords who have ſhewed themſelves noble indeed, by joining with the People; and, in defence of thoſe juſt Rights, have adventured their deareſt Blood and large Eſtates. To that I ſhall only ſay, that tho' the State of theſe Nations be ſuch, as cannot bear their ſitting in a diſtinct Houſe, yet certainly, the Wiſdom of *Parliament* will find out ſuch hereditary Marks of Honour for them, as may make them more noble in after Ages. Gentlemen, upon the whole matter, the beſt Reſult that I can make at preſent for the Peace of theſe Nations, will be, in my opinion, that you forthwith ſit together in *Parliament*: in order, 1. To the ſettling the Conduct of the Armies of the three Nations in that manner, as they may be ſerviceable to the Peace and Safety of them, and not to its own and the Nation's Ruin by Faction and Diviſion.

sion. 2. To the providing sufficient Maintenance for them, that is, for the Forces by Land, and for the Navy by Sea, and all their Arrears of both, and other Contingencies of the Government. 3. To the appointing a *Council of State*, with Authority to settle the Civil Government and Judicatories in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and to take care for the issuing forth Writs, for the summoning of a *Parliament* of these three Nations united, to meet at *Westminster* the 20th Day of *April* next, with such Qualifications as may secure the *Publick Cause* we are all engaged in, and according to such Distributions as were used in the Year 1654. Which *Parliament* so called, may meet and act in Freedom, for the more full establishing of this *Commonwealth, without a King, single Person, or House of Lords.* 4. To a legal Dissolution of this *Parliament*, to make way for a Succession of *Parliaments*. And in order to these good Ends, the Guards will not only willingly admit you, but faithfully, both my self, and every the Officers under my Command, and (I believe) the Officers and Soldiers of the three Nations, will spend their Blood for you and successive *Parliaments*. If your Conjunction be directed to this End, you may part honourably, having made a fair Step to the Settlement of these Nations, by making way for successive *Parliaments*. But I must needs say, that if any different Counsels should be taken (which I have no reason to fear) these Nations would presently be thrown back into Force and Violence, and all Hopes of this much desired Establishment buried in Disorder, which the Lord in his great Mercy I hope will prevent. And so God speed you well together, and unite your Hearts for the Preservation of Peace and Settlement of these Nations to his own Glory, and yours and all our Comforts.

XXV.

The General's Letter to Col. Overton, *Governor of* Hull.

SIR,

I Have ſeen a Letter from you and ſome others at *Hull*, dated from that Garriſon on the 28*th* of *February* laſt, and directed to Col. *Fairfax*, Col. *Bethell*, and Col. *Smithſon*; wherein you complain of the preſent Tranſactions of the publick Affairs, as if they tended to the bringing in of the *King* and a *Monarchical Bondage*, which (you write) ſeems very likely to break in a new upon us, and threatens the Ruin of our Civil and Religious Rights. All which, you ſay, is derived to you from private Hands, which do not only inſinuate their private Jealouſies, but inform you that ſeveral Regiments have declared their Diſconcurrence with the preſent Tranſactions. I muſt confeſs, I am a little ſurprized at this your Letter and Manner of Proceedings, having ſo lately ſent to you from my ſelf and the greateſt part of the Officers of the Army, a full Account of the Neceſſities that induced us to conſent to the Return of the *Secluded Members* to the Exerciſe of their Truſt; and our Reſolutions to that *Cauſe* we have ſo long contended for, and to the *Parliament* in the Proſecution of it. And (notwithſtanding the Information you pretend to have received) I cannot in my own Obſervation diſcern any Grounds for ſuch Apprehenſions of Affairs here, as you ſeem to entertain. Nor has there appeared a Diſcontent in any one Regiment of the Army, except part of Col. *Rich*'s Regiment, which

which is since reduc'd. Wherefore (altho' you pretend not to be too precipitate in your Proceedings) your dispersing Copies of your Letter before you sent it, may reasonably make me judge otherwise. And if you prosecute the Matter further, I cannot but interpret your Action as tending to divide the Army, by withdrawing their Obedience from the Parliament, and consequently to involve the Nations in a new and bloody War. So that to avoid all Occasions of this Nature, I desire, that, within twenty four Hours after this Letter comes to your Hands, you set forward from *Hull* towards *London*, to give me an Account of the present Posture of that Garrison; and that within six Hours after this comes to you, you signify to Col. *Fairfax* and Col. *Bethell*, your Compliance herein, and the Day wherein you intend to begin your Journey; and be with me here, where I shall expect you within a Week after your Departure from *Hull*. I have written to Col. *Fairfax* more particularly concerning the Peace and Safety of the Northern Parts, and of the Garrison of *Hull*; and if he communicates any Orders from me to you, I expect your Obedience to them.

Yours,

George Monk.

XXV. A

XXVI.

A Letter from the Lord General Monk, *and the Officers here, to the ſeveral and reſpective Regiments, and other Forces in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Soldiers,

YOU cannot be ignorant of the many Endeavours, and earneſt Deſires of many good Men in theſe Nations, to bring us to a Settlement; which it hath pleaſed God to diſappoint unto this Day, and leave us as a broken and divided People, ready to run into Blood and Confuſion. Which, that we might prevent ſo great Calamities impending, after our earneſt ſeeking God for his Direction and Aſſiſtance, we find no Expedient ſo likely, for the Satisfaction of the good People, and the Quiet and Welfare of this *Commonwealth*, as the Re-admiſſion of the *Secluded Members*, in order to a legal Diſſolution of this *Parliament* by their own free Conſents, and to iſſue out Writs for a future full Repreſentative of the whole *Commonwealth of England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, under ſuch Qualifications as may ſecure our *Cauſe*, to convene on the twentieth of *April* next at *Weſtminſter*, for the eſtabliſhing this *Commonwealth* upon the Foundations of Juſtice and true Freedom. And to take away all juſt Jealouſies from you, we do aſſure you, that we ſhall join with you in the Maintenance of thoſe Ends expreſſed in the encloſed *, and do expect

* *That was his Speech at the re-admitting the Secluded Members.*

your

your chearful Concurrence with us. And we desire to take God to witness, that we have no Intentions or Purposes to return to our old Bondage: but since the Providence of God hath made us free at the Cost of so much Blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful to God and his People, as to lose so *glorious a Cause*. But we do resolve, with the Assistance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear-purchased Liberties both Spiritual and Civil. The Reason of our Proceedings in this manner may seem strange; but if you duly consider the Necessities of our Affairs, and the present State of things, you will certainly conclude nothing so safe to secure Publick Interest, and to engage the Nations peaceably to submit to a *Free State*; most of these Members having given us full Assurance, that their Session in *Parliament* shall not be longer than absolute Necessity will require, to the putting the Government into successive *Parliaments*; they not being free so to act by the old Writs, as when they shall be called upon a *Commonwealth* account. And it's the Opinion of the truest Friends to a *Free State*, that it cannot be consistent with the perpetual Sitting of these Members, that being contrary to the Nature of such a Government. And as we are confident the present *Parliament* now sitting will not repeal any of the *Acts*, *Ordinances*, or *Orders* of this *Parliament*, for Sales, or publick Disposition of Lands; so we shall in our Station observe, and cause to be observed, all other Acts and Ordinances of this *Parliament* whatsoever, and humbly interpose with the next succeeding *Parliament*, not only to pass a further *Act of Confirmation* of all such Sales and Dispositions of Lands, here and in *Scotland*, but also of all the Distributions and Dispositions of Lands and Houses

in

in *Ireland*, to the Soldiery, Adventurers, or any other Persons, made by or in pursuance of any of the *Acts*, *Ordinances*, or *Orders* of this present *Parliament*, or any pretended *Parliamentary Authority*. And we intreat you to send up an Officer, to give to the Lord General *Monk* an Account of your Acquiescence with us herein. And if any disaffected Persons shall hereby take occasion to make Disturbance of the Peace of the *Commonwealth*, either in favour of *Charles Stuart*, or any other pretended Authority, we desire you to secure them, till the Pleasure of the *Parliament*, or *Council of State*, be known in that behalf. You shall speedily receive Encouragement and Supplies of Monies: And indeed it was not the least Motive to induce us to this way of Composure of Affairs, that we might facilitate the raising of Monies for the Subsistance of the Army and Navy; which would not otherwise have been done (if at all) but with Effusion of Blood. We have nothing more at this time, but to assure you, that we shall ever remain,

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Soldiers,

Whiteball, Feb. 21. 1659. Your very affectionate Friends,

George Monk.

R. Knight.
John Clobery.
Tho. Read.
Jo. Hubblethorne.
Leonard Litcot.
Tho. Saunders.
William Eyre.
Rich Mosse.
William Farley.
Arthur Evelin.
John Streater.
} Colonels.

Jo. Butler, Quarter-Mast. Gen.

Ethelbert Morgan.
James Mutlow.
James Emerson.
Joseph Witter.
Dennis Pepper.
} Lieut. Cols.

James

James Dennis.	*Jere. Smith.*	Majors.
Rich. Wagstaff.	*Nath. Barton.*	
Tho. Johnson.	*Tho. Higgs.*	
Fra. Nichols.	*John Clark.*	
W. Goodwin.		Captains.
Hen. Ogle.		

XXVII.

His Majesty's Letter to Sir John Greenville.

I Am confident that *George Monk* can have no Malice in his Heart against me; nor hath he done any thing against me which I cannot easily pardon, and it is in his Power to do me so great Service, that I cannot easily reward: But I will do all I can. And I do authorize you to treat with him, and not only to assure him of my Kindness, but that I will very liberally reward him with such an Estate in Land, and such a Title of Honour as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Interest. And whatsoever you shall promise to him on my Behalf, or whatever he, or you by his Advice, shall promise to any of his Officers, or the Army under his Command (which Command he shall still keep) I will make good and perform upon the Word of a King.

Charles R.

XXVIII. *His*

XXVIII.

His Majesty's Letters to General Monk.

SIR,

I Cannot think you wish me ill, for you have no reason to do so; and the Good I expect from you, will bring so great a Benefit to your Country and to your self, that I cannot think you will decline my Interest. The Person who gives or sends this to you, hath Authority to say much to you from me; and if you once resolve to take my Interest to heart, I will leave the Way and Manner of declaring it intirely to your own Judgment. And will comply with the Advice you shall give me. The rest I refer to the Person who conveys this to you; and it is in your Power to make me as kind to you, as you can desire, and to have me always.

Your Affectionate Friend,

July 21. 1659. *Charles R.*

XXIX.

A Letter from General Monk *to King* Charles *from* Edinborough.

May it please your Majesty.

SEeing it hath pleas'd God out of his gracious Will and Pleasure, to cause me to cast my Eye upon this *Commonwealth* of *England*, my native Country (and your three Kingdoms) and viewing

viewing there, to behold the ſad and lamentable Condition, that now, and for many Years paſt, it hath been intangled in; which as Reaſon and Conſcience together perſuades me, is occaſion'd chiefly for want of its antient and ever accuſtomed Way of Government (to wit) *a King and Parliament*, which hath been unſettled altogether amongſt us, ever ſince the unhappy Death of your Majeſty's late Father our King: By reaſon whereof, our antient and accuſtomed wholſome Laws both of Church and State, are moſt ſtrangely torn and maſſacred, and all through the ſelf-ſeeking Ends of ſome certain Perſons, which at preſent I judge not fit herein to be communicated, who having gotten the Power of the Sword in their Hands, thought for ever to Rule and Reign over their Oppoſers, I think, in ſpight of God or Man. But of late ſome of thoſe (I hope I may truly bleſs the Name of the Lord for it) who were the chief Rulers of thoſe unhappy Differences between our King, and his Three poor diſtracted Kingdoms, are taken out of this World; inſomuch, that the Power of thoſe remaining, is much weakened. But yet they will (I perceive) ſeek to tread in the ſelf ſame Steps of them that have gone before them, as ſeeking only to ſet up their own Intereſt, although to the utter Ruin of the Nation: Studying how of littleneſs to become great, hating the Name of a *King*, but would joyfully embrace the Power thereof (yea, I may ſay, they ſeek far more Power, than ever our late King did take upon him) and all this done under the zealous Pretence of Saintſhip and Religion: The Form or Manner whereof, is plainly manifeſted by their tollerating and ſetting up of ſtrange Sects of Religion, as Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and ſuch like, ſeeking utterly

ready to destroy and pull down our antient Orthodox Divines, unless timely prevented. I question not but your Majesty is very well knowing of the Power, which for some few Years past, I have had in governing the *English* Army here in *Scotland*; which Power, when I had once obtained, I did resolve, as much as in me lay, to keep, until a fit Time and Opportunity should offer it self, that I might employ it for the Glory of God, and the Good of your Majesty, whose faithful Subject I humbly acknowledge my self to be. Now so it is, may it please your Majesty, I plainly seeing, and with a sad Heart beholding, the threatning Hand of the Lord's severe Judgments stretched forth against these Three Kingdoms, which forthwith must, and will inevitably fall heavy upon us (for ought as can be imagined, to the utter ruin both of King and Subjects) unless suddenly prevented by our humble Submission to the Lord, and an unfeigned Repentance of our former Miscarriages. May it also please your Majesty to give me leave to acquaint you, that I humbly conceive, I had never a better Opportunity of doing my Country Service (in freeing them from their *Egyptian* Bondage, as I may term it) and in restoring the Crown to the right Owner thereof; which, if possible to be done, shall be done with as much Care, Safety, and Diligence, as God shall enable me, and that with as little wrong as may be either to King or Subjects. Which Work, when it is perfected, I hope, will tend to the Settlement of our antient Protestant Religion. In tender Consideration of all which Premisses, I most humbly beg that high Favour of your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased, to permit me to make these Proposals following. *First*, Whether your

Majesty

Majesty will be pleas'd, to accept of the real Endeavours of me your unworthy Subject and Servant, to be employ'd in being a Means in helping your Majesty to a quiet and safe Possession of Three Kingdoms, which have (with Violence) been so long time with-held from you? If yea, then, will your Majesty be pleased, to consent to a Treaty to be had between your Majesty, and a free Parliament, which shall be lawfully elected and chosen by the Country, whose Care, I hope, will be for the chusing of such honest, godly, and religious Men, as had no hand in the Death of our late King, or since his Death, have (by any unlawful Means whatsoever) enjoy'd any of his Lands, Tenements, or Rents, or the Lands, Tenements, and Rents of the late Deans and Chapters, or any of your late sequestred Subjects, or which since his Death have appeared violent in their acting against Kingship, and consequently against your Majesty, our lawful King. Not in the least that I have any Malice or evil Will against such Persons, but for that my Conscience tells me, that so long as self-interested Persons are suffered to sit in *Parliament*, there is little good to be expected, either for King or Kingdom: For it is a hard thing for Men to act against their own selves, to the Loss of their Lands and Livings; which, they suppose, they have so honestly gained. If your Majesty will be pleased to consent to such a Treaty, and that thereupon it may be agreed upon, that your Majesty shall be restor'd to your Three Kingdoms; which I question not, but will be the Event of such a Treaty. Then, I humbly beg, that your Majesty would be pleased to think fit to declare, what Mercy and Pity you are pleased shall be shewn to all those that have been the Chief of

your Enemies (whose Blood, in Severity of Justice, might deservedly be spilt) upon their humble Submission to your Majesty, and their Promise of future Obedience: For, I hope, you will judge, that the only way to joyn the Hearts of the People of your Three Kingdoms, to pray for your happy Success in all things; and not only so, but it will undoubtedly encourage them all to venture their Lives against all your Opposers, if any shall contest. And also, that your Majesty would be pleased to declare, out of your gracious Goodness, what Satisfaction shall be made to the poor Common Soldiery throughout your Three Kingdoms, who have been forced to take up Arms, although against your Majesty, for mere Necessity to keep them and their Families from starving, who indeed are much behind in their Pay; which will be utterly lost and undone, unless your Majesty take Compassion upon them, which, if you are pleased so to do, I question not but you will find as much Humility and Submission from them, as can be expected: And, for the future, it will engage them to be as ready to serve your Majesty, as they were to serve your Enemies for the Time past; and moreover, I conceive it will be a great Encouragement to them, to joyn with me in this Design. I shall trouble your Majesty with little more at present, but to let you know, that my Hopes are, that you would be pleased to have that Confidence in me, as not to credit any Rumours or Reports, that may seemingly contradict what I have herein proposed: For, as for that, I would have your Majesty to be confident, that I shall not value neither the ill Will, or yet look upon the Favour of any, who shall ever appear in Opposition to a thing that I have so really pur-

posed,

posed, so long as God and my Conscience perswades me, that in so doing I shall accomplish a good Work, both for his Glory, and my Countries Good. And yet, I think fit to carry as fair a Correspondency as I can, with those that have taken upon them the Authority in *England*. To that End, I have thoughts of going to *London* very suddenly, that I may see their Actings, and order things there somewhat for my Advantage. I humbly beg your Majesty's speedy Answer touching these Proposals: So with all Submissiveness, I crave your Majesty's Favour, in giving me leave to subscribe my self,

Your Majesty's for ever Faithful and Loyal Subject,

George Monk.

XXX.

The King's Letter to General Monk, *to be by him communicated to the Officers of the Army, and to the Council of State.*

To our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monk, *to be by him communicated to the* President *and* Council *of* State, *and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.*

Charles R.

TRusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well. It cannot be believed, but that we have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by all Endeavours, to improve the Affections of our good Subjects at home, and to procure the Assistance of our Friends and Allies abroad, for the

Recovery of that Right, which by the Laws of God and Man is unqueſtionable, and of which we have been ſo long diſpoſſeſs'd, by ſuch Force, and with thoſe Circumſtances, as we do not deſire to aggravate by any ſharp Expreſſions, but rather wiſh, that the Memory of what is paſſed may be buried to the World. That we have more endeavoured to prepare, and to improve the Affections of our Subjects at home, for our Reſtauration, than to procure Aſſiſtance from abroad to invade either of our Kingdoms, is as manifeſt to the World. And we cannot give a better Evidence, that we are ſtill of the ſame Mind, than in this Conjuncture, when common Reaſon muſt ſatisfy all Men, that We cannot be without Aſſiſtance from abroad; We chooſe rather to ſend to you, who have it in your own Power to prevent that Ruin and Deſolation which a War would bring upon the Nation, and to make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happineſs, Security and Glory, it ſhall enjoy, to your Virtue; and to acknowledge that your Armies have complied with their Obligations for which they were firſt raiſed; For the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion*, the Honour and Dignity of the *King*, the Privileges of *Parliament*, the Liberty and Property of the *Subject*, and the *Fundamental Laws* of the Land; and that you have vindicated that Truſt which others moſt perfidiouſly abuſed and betrayed. How much we deſire and reſolve to contribute to thoſe good Ends, will appear to you by our enclоſed *Declaration*, which we deſire you to cauſe to be publiſh'd for the Information and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who do not deſire a further Effuſion of precious Chriſtian Blood, but to have their Peace and Security founded upon that which can only ſupport it; an Unity of Affections amongſt

mongſt our ſelves, an equal Adminiſtration of Juſtice to Men, reſtoring *Parliaments* to a full Capacity of providing for all that is amiſs, and the Laws of the Land to their due Veneration. You have been your ſelves Witneſſes of ſo many Revolutions, and have had ſo much Experience, how far any Power and Authority that is only aſſum'd by Paſſion and Appetite, and not ſupported by Juſtice, is from providing for the Happineſs and Peace of the People, or from recieving any Obedience from them, without which no Government can provide for them; and that you may very reaſonably believe, that God hath not been ſo well pleaſed with the Attempts that have been made, ſince he hath uſually encreaſed the Confuſion, by giving all the Succeſs that hath been deſired, and brought that to paſs without Effect, which the Deſigners have propoſed as the beſt Means to ſettle and compoſe the Nation. And therefore we cannot but hope and believe, that you will concur with us in the Remedy we have applied, which, to human Underſtanding, is only proper for the Ills we all groan under; and that you will make your ſelves the bleſſed Inſtruments to bring this Bleſſing of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and People; it being the uſual Method in which Divine Providence delighteth it ſelf, to uſe and ſanctify thoſe very Means which ill Men deſign for the Satisfaction of private and particular Ends and Ambition, and other wicked Purpoſes, to wholeſome and publick Ends, and to eſtabliſh that Good which is moſt contrary to the Deſigners; which is the greateſt Manifeſtation of God's particular Kindneſs to a Nation, that can be given in this World. How far we reſolve to preſerve your Intereſts, and reward your Services, we refer to our *Declaration*; and

We

We hope God will inspire you to perform your Duty to Us, and to your Native Country, whose Happiness cannot be separated from each other. We have intrusted our well-beloved Servant Sir *John Greenvil*, one of the Gentlemen of our Bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an Account of your Reception of it, and to desire of you that it may be publish'd. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Breda, *this fourteenth of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.*

XXXI.

The General's Letter to his Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

THE *Parliament* being sitting at my Receipt of your Majesty's gracious Letter to me, I thought my self obliged in Duty to present it to the House of Commons, whose Sense of it, and of that other your Majesty was pleased to send to them by Sir *John Greenvill*, I doubt not but your Majesty will receive an Account of by some of their own Members. I have also communicated your Majesty's Letter and *Declaration* to as many of the chief Officers of the Army as were present in or about *London*, who resented your Majesty's Clemency and Grace to them with very great Duty and Affection, as your Majesty may perceive in the inclosed Address, which, within few Hours after their Convention, they deliver'd to me. By all which Circumstances I hope I may assure your Majesty,

We

jesty, that as the Army hath been very instrumental in their Endeavours to further the Settlement, Peace, and Prosperity of your Majesty's Kingdoms and Dominions; so nothing will be dearer to them and me than to be found in our Generations pursuing those good Ends, which may render us serviceable and acceptable to our Country; by giving unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, and to God the things which are God's.

May the 4th.

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient Servant and Subject,

George Monk.

XXXII.

To his Excellency, the Lord General Monk, *Captain-General of all the Armies and Forces in* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and one of the Generals at Sea: The humble Address of the Officers of your Excellency's* ARMY, *in the Name of themselves and their Brethren.*

ALthough we cannot doubt of your Excellency's Confidence in our Affections, and our Faithfulness to your Excellency, and that Discipline, which, by your good and prudent Conduct, hath been exercised over us, whereby we are instructed to an intire Obedience to your Excellency,

Excellency, and that Authority which the Lord ſhall place over us, which we hope we have manifeſted in our laſt Actions under your Excellency, againſt all Perſons whatſoever, in any ways diſturbing the Peace and Settlement of the Nations; although ſome of them have been our Brethren, formerly engaged in the ſame CAUSE with us. As alſo in our late *Remonſtrance* and *Addreſs* to your Excellency, wherein, as it becomes Us in Duty, we have ſolemnly declared to acquieſce in what the Lord ſhall bring forth from the Conſultations of this preſent *Parliament*. Yet in regard your Excellency hath been pleaſed to communicate to us a *Letter* and *Declaration* from the King's Majeſty, full of gracious Expreſſions; we cannot but acknowledge, that the Matter of it gives a great Meaſure of Quiet to our Minds, and more than ordinary Expectations of the Enjoyment of much Tranquillity and Happineſs under his Majeſty's Government. The free and general *Indemnity* offer'd by his Majeſty, with *a Liberty to tender Conſciences*, Satisfaction of *Arrears*, his Readineſs to conſent to *a Confirmation of Sales*, and other *Grants* and *Purchaſes* of Eſtates to all Perſons now in Poſſeſſion of the ſame, is that of which we cannot doubt of the real Performance, being left by his Majeſty to the *Parliament*'s Determination; ſo we believe it is the moſt probable Way to bring the Nations to their deſired Settlement. And we hope to evince to his Majeſty, and all the World, that we are his Majeſty's loyal Subjects; and that your Excellency, and the Armies under your Command, have comply'd with the Obligations for which they were firſt raiſed; For the Preſervation of the *true Proteſtant Religion*, the *Honour and Dignity of the King*, the *Priviledges of Parliament*,

the

XXXIII.

His Majeſty's Letter to the General, to be communicated by him to the Officers of the Army.

To our Truſty and Well-beloved General Monk, *to be communicated to the Officers of the Army.*

Charles R.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. You will eaſily believe, that your Letter of the 5th of this Month, by Sir *Thomas Clarges*, was very welcome to us: And that as We muſt always acknowledge the infinite Mercy of God Almighty, in diſpoſing the Hearts of the Army in ſuch an intire Obedience to you, for the promoting and carrying on our Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; ſo we can never be without a juſt Eſteem of ſuch a great and well diſciplin'd Army, upon which the Eyes of the whole World are ſo much fixed. We muſt deſire you to return our very hearty Thanks to the Officers and Soldiers for their Affection and Obedience to Us; and to aſſure them from Us, that We ſhall always have an intire Confidence in them, and ever acknowledge them to be the great Inſtruments of Reſtoring Us to Peace and Happineſs, and Security to us all. And therefore they may not only with all imaginable Confidence aſſure themſelves, that we will

whatever we have promised in our *Declaration* or Letter, but that we will take them into our particular Care and Protection. And if the Licence and Diſtemper of the Times ſhall ſo far tranſport any Men, as to preſume upon the Memory of former Animoſities, and of what is paſt, to uſe any Reproaches towards them, We will look upon ſuch Perſons as Diſturbers of the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, and ſhall cauſe them to be proſecuted accordingly. And towards this Settlement and Compoſure, and for the Prevention of many Inconveniences which may fall out, We think nothing ſo neceſſary as our Preſence with you, by which (in a very ſhort Time) every Member of the Army, who ſhall faithfully adhere to you in Advancement of the Publick Peace, ſhall (with the bleſſing of God) find himſelf ſecured and provided for to his Satisfaction. And longing for that bleſſed Time, we bid you heartily farewell.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

FINIS.